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**INFORMAL SOCIAL PROTECTION AND OLD AGE
CARE: A PARTICIPATORY GERONTOLOGY OF PROSPECTS
IN JEEDO PRACTICE**



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UUM
Universiti Utara Malaysia

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**INFORMAL SOCIAL PROTECTION AND OLD AGE CARE: A
PARTICIPATORY GERONTOLOGY OF PROSPECTS IN
JEEDO PRACTICE**



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**A thesis submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government in
fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy
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Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)
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ABSTRACT

Growing population aging globally now requires a better and more effective social protection and protection process. Developing countries like Nigeria are politically less committed to protecting and safeguarding the welfare of their seniors. All that exists is Jeedo, an alternative and informal practice to keep older people growing over two centuries, especially in the Emiriah Bauchi Nigeria. The study aims to explore Jeedo's practices in terms of history, practice, challenges and prospects as well as trying to propose new models to further streamline the elderly care process in Nigeria. This research framework has adopted Paulo Freire's approach based on social capital, social support and security theory. Data collection was made qualitatively and analyzed using thematic method. The findings show that Jeedo's practice only focuses on the protection and security of the elderly. Data have shown a waiver in the care and security of the elderly. Jeedo's practice will be more effective if the process of care and security is enhanced to include elderly women and men. Hence, this study proposes “Jeedo Senior New Model of Eldercare” which provides protection and security to all seniors in Nigeria whether men or women. It has the potential to be an alternative to sustainable non-formal protection practices in keeping the welfare of the elderly in Nigeria.

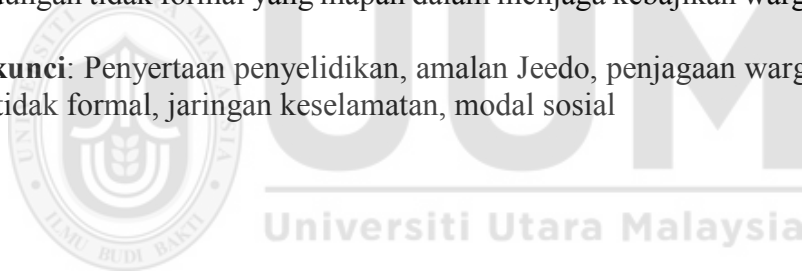
Keywords: Participatory research, Jeedo Practice, Informal Social protection, old age care, Social Capital



ABSTRAK

Penuaan penduduk yang semakin meningkat di peringkat global kini memerlukan proses penjagaan dan perlindungan sosial yang lebih baik dan berkesan. Negara membangun seperti Nigeria secara politiknya kurang memberi komitmen dalam melindungi dan menjaga kebajikan warga tua mereka. Yang wujud hanyalah *Jeedo* iaitu amalan alternatif dan tidak formal bagi menjaga warga tua yang berkembang lebih dua abad khususnya di Emiriah Bauchi Nigeria. Kajian ini berusaha untuk meneroka amalan *Jeedo* dari aspek sejarah, amalan, cabaran dan prospek serta berusaha mencadangkan model baru bagi memperkemaskan lagi proses penjagaan warga tua di Nigeria. Kerangka kajian ini telah menggunakan pendekatan Paulo Freire berasaskan modal sosial, sokongan sosial dan teori keselamatan. Pengumpulan data dibuat secara kualitatif dan dianalisis menggunakan kaedah tematik. Hasil kajian mendapati, amalan *Jeedo* hanya menumpukan penjagaan dan jaminan keselamatan kepada warga tua wanita sahaja. Data telah menunjukkan berlakunya pengabaian dalam penjagaan dan jaminan keselamatan ke atas warga tua lelaki. Amalan *Jeedo* akan lebih berkesan sekiranya proses penjagaan dan jaminan keselamatan dapat ditambah baik merangkumi warga tua wanita dan lelaki. Justeru, kajian ini mencadangkan Model Baru Penjagaan Warga Tua *Jeedo* (*Jeedo Senior New Model of Eldercare*) yang memberi perlindungan dan keselamatan kepada semua warga tua di Nigeria sama ada lelaki ataupun wanita. Ia berpotensi menjadi alternatif amalan perlindungan tidak formal yang mapan dalam menjaga kebajikan warga tua di Nigeria.

Kata kunci: Penyertaan penyelidikan, amalan *Jeedo*, penjagaan warga tua, sokongan sosial tidak formal, jaringan keselamatan, modal sosial



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JNI	Jama'atu Nasril Islam
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and
PRA	Development. Participatory Research Approach
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Populations Fund



GLOSSARY

Bori	worship of god through spirits among Hausa people
Dalalaini	traditional method translating the Quran during Ramadan
Duavata	togetherness
Galadiman	a high chief found in Emir's palace in northern Nigeria
Garin magarya	a powder used in washing dead human bodies
Hausawa	plural for Hausa people
Hxaro	social network among the Juhonsi in Kalahari Desert
Iskoki	spirits
Iyan kwaran	gate crashers
Jakadia	ambassador
Jamaatu Nassril	
Islam	a prominent Islamic organization in Nigeria
Kanuri	an ethnic group in north eastern Nigeria
Kaskon wuta	an open clay pot used for making fire
Kerekere	asking for aid based on reciprocity
Ladan	the muezzin
Lailaya	moving round in circle
Majilis	council
Makaman liman	representative of the chief Imam
Malafa	a hat made of grass used commonly among Hausa nobles
Malamai	priests
Matawallen	a high chief in Hausa king's palace
Paypay	a wide plate made of grass used as a cover for food or drinks
Sardaunan	a powerful chief among Hausa Emirates
Ummu Suda	black skinned mother
Simunye	the spirit of oneness
Hlonipa	respect
Solesolevaki	joint communal labour
Solevu	large scale mobilization and redistribution of resources.
Soli vakavanua	social generosity
Sumimasen	debt

Talba	A Hausa chief very close to the Emir
Turbaning	confirmation of a chieftaincy title by the Emir
Uwar sarki	Emirs mother
Uwar Jeedo	leader of all old women
Veilomani	being loving and friendly with one another,
Veinnumi	act of being considerate
Veivukei	offering a helping hand.
Wakilin tarihin	
Bauchi	Emirate chef historian
Waziri	Deputy
Xiao Yalovata	A person of the same spirit
Zunde-marambo	System of food reserve used in assisting the needy



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The research explores the informal social protection prospects of the Jeedo practice in Bauchi Emirate, north-eastern Nigeria. The Jeedo was studied as a method of eldercare that can be mobilized to address the existing gap in old-age care being experienced across Nigerian societies. The need for the present study stems from the increase in the size of the elderly population within the context of failure in the provision of formal social protection in Nigeria. In addition, the study responds to recommendations by previous studies on the need to address the gaps experienced in social protection by strengthening the informal social protection system. It is participatory gerontology carried out using Paulo Freire's approach and a framework of social capital, social support and social safety net theories. The first chapter describes the background to the research, the participatory gerontology approach, the problem of the research, the research question, objectives, significance, operational definitions of terms and the organisation of the research.

1.2 Background

Population aging as a term refers to increasing numbers and the proportion of older persons within populations. As a phenomenon experienced throughout the world (UNFPA & HelpAge International, 2012), United Nations estimates indicate that the

population of those aged 60 and older in 2015 was about 900 million, representing about 12% of the global population (Ortman & Velkoff, 2014; United Nations, 2015). Given this medium level growth projection, this number is expected to pass 2 billion by 2050, which at that time will represent close to 22% of the global population. With a few exceptions, these changes are happening everywhere and in every region of the globe (Zimmer & McDaniel, 2013 ; Ortman & Velkoff, 2014).

The trend in population growth of older adults has brought about a global concern for old-age social protection within the last twenty-five years (Agarwal, Lubet, Mitgang, Mohanty, & Bloom, 2016; Beard & Bloom, 2015; Help Age India, 2015; Kowal, Chatterji, Naidoo, Biritwum, & Fan, 2012). However, it has been noted by several studies that most developing countries cannot cope with the provision of statutory formal care and alternatives have to be sought for and strengthened as a matter of urgency (P. G. Lloyd-Sherlock, Ebrahim, McKee, & Prince, 2016). For example, in sub-Saharan Africa, poor social and economic wellbeing for older people resulting from the absence of statutory old age pensions, coupled with changes affecting the efficacy of informal traditional protection systems in most of sub-Saharan Africa, tends to leave them in increased destitution (Help Age India, 2015; HelpAge International, 2015; Mohanty, 2011; Ortman & Velkoff, 2014; UNDP, 2013). In respect of this, a few scholars have noted that, despite the intensification in studies on the social protection systems of older people across the world in the last three decades, research on sub-Saharan Africa with reference to studies that are relevant in contributing towards our understanding the survival of elderly people remains scarce (Kimuna, 2013). In addition, much of the emphasis of previous studies has been placed upon understanding the social protection mechanisms provided by state institutions.

The result has been the existence of one-sided knowledge about the collective arrangements of informal non-state social protection methods. As noted by a number of studies, (Bilecen & Barglowski, 2015; Visser, Gesthuizen, & Scheepers, 2018), little is known about the effectiveness and resilience of informal institutions or their policy significance.

As a developing country, Nigeria has been projected to experience considerable growth in the number of people older than 60. According to the United Nations (2015), half of all older people in West Africa at present reside in Nigeria, with a rising statistics of the elderly from 6.4 million to 25.5 million by 2050. This statistics shows that the number would rise systematically and if attention is not given to their wellbeing, it could constitute a pandemic. This is the reason why the elderly should be given better attention, as it has been given to youth and children in Nigeria. Furthermore, a study by Ogwumike and Aboderin (2014) posits that the concentration of older people among the 'poorest of the poor' poses a threat to their material, physical and emotional wellbeing, a situation magnified by the visible evidence of increasing destitution and begging amongst older people in Nigeria (Ogwumike & Aboderin, 2014).

Interestingly, social protection for the elderly has not been of priority to successive Governments in Nigeria (Animasahun & Chapman, 2017; Eze, 2010; S. A., O., & O., 2012). As evident from previous literature, there exists no Government policy or legislation in place through which social protection is provided as a safety net for the aged (Eze, 2010). Even the pension scheme that was recently reformed does not cover older persons except those who work in the public sector. This persistently has had

serious consequences on their well-being because majority of them have no income and cannot derive any service from the contributory pension scheme. As such, poverty and lack of social support are synonymous with old age in Nigeria (Animasahun & Chapman, 2017; Sanya, Kolo, Adekeye, Abiodun, & Olanrewaju, 2011; Wahab & Adedokun, 2012). More still, due to the evident discrepancies in formal social protection, a significant number of older people have resorted to begging in order to survive. Some are engaged or exploited as cleaners, security guards, load carriers or petty traders to satisfy their needs. It is a common scene in Nigerian newspapers to notice captions like Elder abuse: the Nigerian experience, Abuse of the elderly, Nigeria a nightmare for the elderly, Old age a crime in Nigeria, Old age, more troubles or heart-breaking tales of assault and killings against Nigeria's senior citizens.

To address the evident failure of formal social protection across many developing societies, studies have pointed out informal social protection as an alternative for coping with the challenges of aging in various dimensions (Greenberg, 2014; Paillard-Borg & Strömberg, 2014). Therefore, informal social protection is an area recommended for further research in aging-related studies to provide a better understanding of how informal safety nets can be utilized for coping in view of the rising number of the elderly population (AFDB, OECD, & UNDP, 2014; Melorose, Perroy, & Careas, 2015). However, several studies conducted in Nigeria have not given due attention to these recommendations. Most of the studies reviewed revolved around themes like the role of the family and elder abuse, indicating how these methods have been weakened by the factors of modernization, social change and economic difficulties. The common methods found in most of the studies on Nigeria are qualitative interviews and focus groups with more notable studies conducted using

quantitative methods. Importantly, there is hardly a complete focus on practical solution-oriented studies using participatory research approach. More still, to the best of my knowledge, there is no participatory study yet on informal social protection and eldercare in Nigeria. This implies a significant gap in the literature that calls for the conduct of a new research in social protection methods to bridge the gap. More precisely, various societies across Nigeria offer different methods of informal practices in eldercare that can be studied. In north-eastern Nigeria, these methods include *Gumsu* *Jakadiya* and *kale*, the *Jeedo practice* and many others, which also seem to be generally characterized by elements of social capital like religious solidarity, networking, mutual exchange and activities resulting to spirituality and filial duties. Such practices usually extend care to older people in communities across north-eastern Nigeria.

1.3 Why Participatory Gerontology with the Jeedo?

Participatory gerontology is among the methods indicating moves towards more person-centred research that have resulted in the increased acknowledgement of older people's rights, including the right for their experiences to be explored through research (Bindels, Baur, Cox, & Abma, 2013). Increasingly, there is a consensus that elderly persons can be involved in research as active participants and there is growing evidence that they can make a valuable contribution and benefit from involvement in it (Guss, 2012). The benefits can be in terms of enhanced self-esteem and making meaningful contributions. It can give a sense of purpose and value, thereby countering the feelings of powerlessness more usually associated with old age (Pipon-Young et al., 2012; Tanner, 2012a). At a wider level, it is anticipated that involvement in research can challenge the marginalisation of elderly persons and promote social

inclusion in society (Tanner, 2012a). Today, it is accepted that their views are essential to understand their experiences of later life and the needs arising from it (McKillop & Wilkinson, 2014). Thus, it is important that more research is conducted to raise the profile of researches into the needs of old age and old-age care. Further, the insignificance of participatory research about eldercare practices in traditional African settings has resulted in little knowledge about the various practices available.

In participatory research, an enhancement of the participants' understanding of a particular situation will happen together with acting to change it to their benefit. This way of conducting research enables participants to step back from familiar routines, existing forms of interactions and power relationships in order to question and rethink the established interpretations of situations. For that reason, it can lead to a reconstruction of knowledge and understanding together with a feeling of empowerment (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). Participatory methods advocate a "bottom-up" rather than the conventional "top-down" approach to investigation practices (Wood, 2017). Normally, three types of changes are recognised in participatory research:

1. Development of critical consciousness of researcher and participants
2. Improvement of the lives of those involved
3. Transformation of fundamental societal structures (Padgett, 2016).

Previous studies on old age care in Nigeria were less focused on the transformation of care structures for the elderly within their immediate communities. As a result, studies on Nigeria were less oriented towards change as a means of addressing the issues related to eldercare and the elderly as a marginalized segment in the country. Most

research with elderly people has included elderly persons as interview participants, discussants or survey respondents, with limited power and involvement (Holloway, Brown, & Shipway, 2010; Malterud & Ulriksen, 2011). Thus, research approaches that are democratic and inclusive have not been employed for those around issues affecting the lives of the elderly based on their views and analysing their situations within Nigerian settings. Therefore, knowledge is missing in understanding the experiences of elderly care challenges and prospects in a variety of areas. Incorporating the perspective of the elderly in research might support appropriate services to be developed since, participatory gerontology allows elderly persons a voice in research by focussing on their experiences and how they construct meaning in coping with the challenges of later life.

This study provides a voice for the Jeedo elderly to be heard with the purpose of developing a participatory research model for more inclusive eldercare. Thus, this work will attempt to explore the Jeedo practice as an informal eldercare method that can strengthen, using Paulo Freire's approach, to participatory research. The main focus remains the transformation of the Jeedo into a safety net for the elderly in Bauchi Emirate and as a potential model for similar societies to emulate across the region. Finally, since the study is grounded in Paulo Freire's approach to participatory research, it assumes that elderly people are knowledgeable about their social realities and can articulate this knowledge to transform their situation (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

1.4 Problem Statement

Previous studies show an increasing consensus that developing countries need to focus on alternative social protection systems that cover at least the basic needs of older adults. This follows the gaps noted in the ability of many developing countries to provide formal social protection to the growing number of older adults in terms of old age pensions, health coverage and other forms of social security. In this regard, informal support strategies were viewed as the fundamental sources to be mobilized in promoting effective eldercare practices within communities. Several studies have noted that the influence of population aging on social support, public health and national economies is already dramatic in most developing countries (Bloom et al., 2015) the reason being the absence of priority on elderly social protection in terms of both policy and budget. In Nigeria, 2013 estimates show that the elderly represented over 20% of the total population (Amaike and Bammeke, 2014) while 2017 projections indicated a growth rate of 2.63 percent per annum. Within this estimate, the age group 55-64 years accounts for 3.97% with the male constituting 3,699,947 and the female 3,870,080, while a more older segment of the elderly population comprising 65 years and over accounts for 3.13% ,with the male making up 2,825,134 and the female 3,146,638. The argument here is that, although this might seem a youthful age structure, the main concern is the growing size of the elderly population(CIA, 2017World fact book,).

Despite the adoption of the African Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing in January 2002 declaring the need to launch policies that would raise awareness of the special situation and the needs and welfare of older persons, little progress has been made concerning the development of policies and strategies that address their needs.

Thus, in relation to international conventions, Nigeria has remained a violator of those conventions, including the Global Action on Aging, the Madrid Plan of Action (1991) and the United Nations Principles for Older Persons. This further relegates formal attention and action towards supporting the elderly. Recently, the World Bank (2016) posited that there is a significant increase in vulnerability among Nigerians. This implies the increasing need for social protection and greater public expenditure on social services and assistance programs. Yet, budgetary allocations have remained inadequate, despite improvement in Federally collected revenue, with current spending on social protection estimated at 0.01 per cent of GDP in 2016 for a population of over one hundred and ninety million. Further, due to low budgetary commitment from the government, the focus of social protection programs has remained on a narrowly defined set of risks and target groups instead of complying with multiple objectives, including the elderly.

Within the larger framework of social protection in Nigeria, most of the designs are not well suited to the needs of households that could have impacted on elderly care. The social protection policy also lacks a concerted approach to address equity in the design of programs (ODI, 2016). Furthermore, concerns over service delivery and other infrastructure, such as financial infrastructure for the poor, especially in rural areas, have been raised and identified as another key challenge on social protection. The implication of neglect for social protection budgeting implies that providing formal protection for the elderly may not be forthcoming soon.

It is clear that the experience of population aging is occurring within the context of poor commitment and the absence of political will to protect the elderly in Nigeria. At

the same time, various informal traditional strategies through which older people were supported in the past have been weakened by various factors, including changes in family structure caused by a gradual disintegration of the extended family and the loss of the communal sense of living that was a shared value across Nigerian communities. These factors tend to have decreased both the coverage and efficacy of informal social protection. Previous studies in Nigeria have studied various problems of population aging, the elderly and old age as the subject of discourse among scholars. Hardly do we have a complete participatory gerontological focus on transforming informal eldercare methods as the focus of these studies. Therefore, a critical gap which this study responded to is the demonstration of how the provision of options for a safety net in eldercare can occur within local settings. In addition, previous studies on practices across the globe (Agarwal et al., 2016; Kimuna; UNFPA, 2012) provide sufficient evidence that informal methods of social protection can be strengthened to serve as an alternative in various purposes of social protection. The reason being that informal practices have relevance of history and socially constructed meanings attached to old age and the care accorded to the elderly

Therefore, based on the gaps in policy and the literature on informal care with reference to Nigeria, the study focuses on the Jeedo Practice as a potential institution of eldercare that can be strengthened to address the safety net needs of older adults within the communities they live in. Thus, an exploration into the Jeedo elder care practice is timely and relevant. Furthermore, the research focused on the Jeedo as result of its uniqueness and possibility as a great potential serving as an Islamic and a social capital model that is easily acceptable in Emirates across north-Eastern Nigeria. In

addition, to an exploration of the Jeedo system, this research aimed to transform it as a model of eldercare through the participatory approach.

The Jeedo as a social institution in Bauchi Emirate was said to have thrived for centuries. However, since the practice has no documented study, this research intends to explore it in relation to the potential of serving as a wider safety net for the elderly. To achieve the aim of the study, Phase One explored the origin and importance of the practice as an institution of eldercare in Bauchi Emirate and examined the practices involved in the Jeedo and the dimensions of eldercare provided. In the Phase Two, the study critically identified the challenges and prospects of the Jeedo practice for a wider safety net using the PRA. In Phase Three, the active participation of Jeedo members and the Emirate community suggested ways of overcoming the challenges faced by the Jeedo practice towards serving as wider safety net. For each of the phases, research questions were developed from literature gaps in relation to the challenges confronting Jeedo as a potential model of eldercare. The result was the proposal of new a model of the Jeedo that is more encompassing.

1.5 Research Questions

This study answered four main research questions;

- 1) In line with similar practices reviewed, how meaningful and relevant is the Jeedo eldercare practice as a method in the history of Bauchi Emirate?
- 2) What are the dimensions of eldercare obtained through participation in Jeedo practice?
- 3) What are the challenges and prospects of Jeedo practice that can be translated into a more inclusive safety net for the elderly?

- 4) How can the prospects of Jeedo practice be transformed into a model towards greater capacity to serve as a wider and more inclusive safety net in the Emirate and beyond?.

1.6 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The main aim of the research is to conduct Participatory Gerontology (PRA) on the Jeedo system as an alternative method of social support that provides a safety net to the elderly. The objectives are:

- 1) To explore the historical origin and meaning of the Jeedo practice.
- 2) To examine the practice and dimensions of eldercare provided.
- 3) To analyse the challenges facing Jeedo as a safety net.
- 4) To suggest a model of Jeedo practice as a wider and more inclusive safety net for old-age care .

1.7 Significance of the Study

A research into Jeedo as a traditional system of social protection is significant for numerous reasons. The most prominent is the demography of population aging, which implies that older persons are the world's fastest growing population group. In Nigeria, this group is expanding rapidly amidst changing traditional structures and declining social protection systems due to urbanization and rural urban migration (Bloom, Chatterji, et al., 2015; NPC & ICF, 2013)). There is general scantiness of data on the elderly in many countries, including Nigeria, that has brought about the isolation of their from international development policies. In most cases, public policy is not often analysed from an elderly perspective. The contributions as well as the issues of importance to them are also not given much attention (UNFPA, 2012). Within the sub-Saharan African region, there have been various recommendations for research into

specific areas of aging, particularly informal protection systems. There is also the need for the generation of knowledge that will lead to successful aging within communities. Further, the need for studies in the light of the increased marginalization of the elderly, social inequality and the weakening of historically protective institutions have also been stressed. This study possesses both theoretical and practical utilities. In terms of theory, it contributed towards the inclusion of methods from Islam and African traditions into the sociology of ageing and social capital perspectives. In practice, it provides relevant information on how to improve informal eldercare through the creation of safety nets within the research setting and possibly beyond. The research is also important because it indicates how a breakthrough in eldercare can be achieved, if attention is given to religious values and traditions, within native environments. This is most important now with the evident failure of most Governments in the provision of formal social protection. The study will also contribute to the formulation of a more effective model of the Jeedo practice for elderly care in Nigeria.

Since the current issue of ageing and its consequences are a universal phenomenon, there is a need to review a few traditional informal systems of eldercare, which might share similarities to the Jeedo system around the world, to shed more light on the characteristics of these institutions, rather than imposing models developed from western cultures (Cho, Y. S., Chen, C. H., Hu, C., Long, J., Ong, R. T. H., Sim, X., ... & Chang, 2012; Lin & Chan, 2015). The findings of this study will assist social service administration policy formulation and legislation for suitable methods of social protection for the elderly.

Finally, findings from a research on Jeedo will lead to a more comprehensive analysis of informal social protection and its availability and in traditional non-western settings as safety nets.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study explored the Jeedo practice within the area referred to as Bauchi. Specifically, the study explores the historical origin, the eldercare dimensions provided and the challenges and prospects of a wider safety net in Jeedo practice, using Paulo Freire's approach to participatory research (PR). The study analysed Jeedo practice through a combination of social support, social capital and social safety net theories. The research (PR) was carried out within three months from March 2017 to August 2017.

1.8 Definition of terms

The following operational definitions were used in undertaking this research:

1.8.1 Religion

The concept of religion in the analysis of Jeedo encompasses the orderly body of beliefs organized around the practice by members based on the need to pass on to the hereafter preferably within Islamic religious belief. Thus, religiosity refers to the degree to which Jeedo members individually pursue commitment to the practice based on the belief of reaping rewards after death.

1.8.2 Death

For Jeedo practice, death is perceived as the end of life, implying that as Muslims, their existence will be terminated from worldly life before the commencement of the

afterlife. Death is seen in the Jeedo as a moment when “*sand will cover our eyes*” in the grave, implying a separation of the soul from the body. Death is seen as the transfer from this world to the afterlife. Thus, it is the continuation of life in another form, which Jeedo adherents want to enjoy permanently by reaping the rewards of Jeedo practice, which they have diligently pursued while alive.

1.8.3 Old-Age Care

In this study, eldercare used interchangeably with old-age care, refers to all the spiritual and supportive actions, assistance and acts of facilitating wellbeing in favour of the elderly person. The expectation within this conception covers both informational, instrumental, companionship and other cognitive dimensions. Old-age care in Jeedo covers the provision of a platform for religious rituals, which give adherents spiritual satisfaction, care in sickness and proper burial. The goodwill of the Emirate covers basic needs in terms of access to food and medication. Engagement in community services provides physical support, social inclusion, respect and proper community status. As already indicated, elderly care is a social construct. Therefore, its nature and extent are influenced by the cultural norms and values of a particular society.

1.8.4 Informal Social Protection

Informal social protection arises from values and norms showing solidarity and supportive attitudes among group members. Through informal support networks, risk sharing and arrangements for private transfers between individuals or households in the form of material assistance or services are delivered. In the present study, informal social protection is used interchangeably with informal social support, referring to

traditional social protection systems that serve as safety nets. In this system, the basis of protection is the social values through which larger traditional power structures, religious groups, community, friends, neighbours and the extended family protect community members. The main avenue of informal safety nets is mainly through social capital mediums.

1.8.5 Social Capital

Social capital in this work is basically a combination of both classical and the religious social capital by Islamic economists. For example, in Islamic societies, potential social capital exists under the general concept of Islamic charity, goodwill, community engagements, zakat, waqif, Hiba and Sadaqah. It also includes funding and the availability of instrumental social support for the elderly and all such social capital arising from a social process within an Islamic society. Further, social capital in the study includes the formation of social capital from religion. In north-eastern Nigeria, Islam is the basis of social action. This makes religion an important factor in understanding the social process. Furthermore, on the basis of religion, it is easier for both the formation and investment of social capital towards the creation of safety net for the aged.

1.8.6 Social Safety Net

Safety net in this study refers to the end result accruing from social capital investment in supportive actions that will prevent the elderly from falling into variables identified as detrimental to their objective in Jeedo practice. This safety net is dependent on the persistence of social support derived from social capital investment. The aim of the

safety net is to enable a successful preparation towards death in line with the motives of joining the Jeedo.

1.8.7 Participatory Gerontology

Participatory gerontology in this study is influenced by Paulo Freire's approach to participatory research rooted in the social science. The term "participatory gerontology" in this study involves an approach where issues of vital importance to elderly community members are identified and used as a basis for study. For example, Jeedo practice is considered important to old-age care and is used for sensitization on issues of such care in a participatory collaborative fashion. Thus, the present study achieved the objective of participatory research through knowledge production and the transformation of Jeedo on identified issues related to old-age care. The study was based on established principles, including: a) the understanding of Jeedo as social structure that is embedded in the social processes and historical context of the Emirate, b) visualization of Jeedo in the context of macro-level social forces within the Emirate, state and nation, c) the integration of theory and the data obtained through a lens of social capital social support and social safety net theories, d) the transformation of a subject-object relationship through dialogue, e) most importantly, at the final phase of the PRA, Jeedo , stakeholders, the Emirate community and researchers together produce critical knowledge aimed at proposing a transformation of Jeedo, f) the results of Phase III was applied to propose a concrete transformation of the situation of present Jeedo into a new and more inclusive old-age care model.

Participatory gerontology in the context of this study shares similarities with different participatory approaches like action research, critical research, democratic research, emancipatory research, co-research, user-controlled and user-led research, teaching

and development programs like agricultural projects, community development, learning difficulties, disabilities and feminism

1.9 Organisation of the thesis

This study comprises six chapters. Chapter One is composed of introduction, problem statement, research question, research objectives, significance of the study, scope of the study and operational definitions. Chapter Two consists of background of the study, literature review and theoretical framework. Chapter Three consists of methodology and the research design used in this study. Chapter Four consists of data analysis and discussions of findings. Finally, Chapter Five consists of theoretical and methodological contributions, research implications and direction for further studies as well as conclusions.

1.10 Conclusion

In the above chapter, we introduced the research topic and lucidly elaborated the problem statement. The research question was designed to achieve the objectives of this study. Also, theoretical and practical contributions as well as the scope of this study were highlighted and concepts operationalized. The next chapter is the background to the setting of the study, literature review and theoretical framework.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, this study presented the introduction, problem statement, research questions, research objectives, significance of the study, scope of the study, definition of concepts and the organisation of the thesis. This chapter presents background information on the place of the research, including the geographical location, demographic information in relation to the size of the elderly population, politics, religion and literacy level. The chapter also presents previous studies relevant to the exploration and transformation of Jeedo practice using PRA. These include the concept of aging, the challenges and implications of population aging, informal social protection and eldercare, the challenges and prospects of informal social protection in Nigeria, religion as a potential source of social protection and the historical background to the development of Islamic institutions in Bauchi Emirate in the northeast as an introduction to Jeedo practice. However, since Jeedo has no documented study, not much is known about the practice. This research is, therefore, exploratory and transformative in nature. The literature review was used in a manner consistent to learning from participants to build an understanding based on what is heard, observed or discussed.

2.2 The Geographical Location of Nigeria

Nigeria is situated on the Gulf of Guinea on the West African Coastal-region between 3 and 14 “degrees” longitude and 4 and 14 “degrees” latitude. The country is located on a land mass of 923,768 square km, spread over 4,049 kilometres and shares a border with Cameroon to the East, Niger Republic to the North, Chad to North East and Republic of Benin to the West. The ecology of Nigeria varies from most African countries and poses complex geographical and cultural scenery. Zones of climate and vegetation that can easily be identified in Nigeria are six: Sahel savanna, also known as the Sudanic savanna region, made of open grassland on the edge of the forest region. Others are the equatorial forest, Guinea savanna, the rainforest, mangrove forest and the Delta Region (NNPC, 2018). There are five main geographical regions in Nigeria. These include the low coastal region, which covers the Gulf of Guinea, the hills of the Plateau, stretching north of the coastal zone, the valleys of River Niger and River Benue, and the wide plain of mountains, stretching as far as the edge of the Cameroun islands to the northeast. Finally, is the Lower Niger course, which flows south towards the eastern part and drains into the Gulf of Guinea. This creates swamps and mangrove forests, which cover the lowlands on the southern coast (Shodganga, 2001). Nigeria’s political boundaries are a recent creation of the subjective demarcation of the second half of the nineteenth century during European colonial rule. This follows the European conquest and incorporation of former protectorates, including the Northern Protectorate, which has been the seat of the Sokoto Caliphate. All the political regions are engraved across different vegetation zones: the northeast, known as the Lake Chad region; Hausa land with a very high Muslim population, known as central Sudanic savannah; the controversial Middle Belt, Niger and Benue Valleys located at the

tropical savannah; the south-western Yoruba political region and the volatile southeast made up of Igboland (Toyin & Matthew, 2014).

2.3 Demographic Profile

With a population of over a hundred and ninety million, Nigeria is Africa's most populous country and the nineteenth in the world (Togonu-Bickersteth, 2014). This demographic profile derives from a total population growth rate of 2.63 percent per annum, as obtained by 2017 population estimates (Cadmus et al., 2015; Orkafor, 2015; Togonu-Bickersteth & Akinyemi, 2013; United Nations, 2013 'World fact Book, 2017). The country has 36 states seven of which are situated in the North-West zone with a population of 35, 786, 944, which is considered the most populated. The next populated zone is the Southwest, with a population of 27, 266,257. The South-South zone, with a population of 21,014,655 covers six states. Among all the states, Kano state has the highest population of 17,000,682 closely followed by Lagos with 9,013,534. Next is the capital city of the former Northern region, Kaduna, followed Katsina, Oyo and Rivers having more than five million each. Within the North Central zone, there are seven states, including the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja with 1,405,201 and a total 20,266,257. The North-East zone with six states has a population of 18,971,965. The five states in the South-Eastern zone have a population of 16,381,729. Other states like Nasarawa (1,863,275) and Bayelsa (1,703,358) have a population below two million each (NPC & ICF, 2013; Shofoyeke & Amosun, 2014).



Map 1 States of Nigeria by Population Density

2.4 Political Background

As a political entity, Nigeria emerged as a survival imperative to quench the thirst of global capitalism in its phase of monopoly and primitive acquisition. As a colony, it was a British honey enclave carved out in the nineteenth century to function in the context of raw material producing nations for the global Capitalist scheme. Consequently, the segments known as the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated in 1914 and linked to global Capitalism as a satellite province of Britain. This was to have a lasting consequence not only on economic organization, but also on the culture and general welfare of the citizens of Nigeria as a country (CIA, 2013, 2017; Gofwen, 2001). Democratic rule was restored in 1999 from a military rule of over 30 years. However, corruption in Government persist as a major challenge to national development (Yuguda Madu & Yusof, 2015). The political system has three-tiers, namely the federal, state and local governments. Currently, there are 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory as different governments and a total of 774 local government areas (LGAs) spread across the country (ODI, 2011).

Nigeria is the biggest oil exporter in Africa and has the largest natural gas reserve on the African continent estimated to be 35 billion barrels. Natural gas reserves are also being exploited, making Nigeria a member of the “Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries” (OPEC). However, the major features of the economy

persistently manifesting are balance of payments problems and adverse terms of trade, macroeconomic distortions, periodic devaluation and depreciation of domestic currency, mountains of external and internal debts, low credit worthiness and a high-country risk. There is high and persistent inflation, more dependence on the monolithic economy of crude oil, mass unemployment, collapse of social and economic infrastructure, insecurity to life and widespread poverty, among others (UNDP, 2015; Abubakar Yakubu, 2016). As at the year 2016, seventy percent of Nigerians lived in poverty according to a World Bank and International Monetary Fund report (2017), one-third of the population under 15 years is illiterate and lack of investors interested in Nigeria is high due to a very country risk chart.

Nigeria's number one problem is infrastructure, with 22% of industries expenditure going to electricity generators. When compared to Indonesia, the per capita domestic product is four times that of Nigeria. Furthermore, a recent US central intelligence (CIA) report explained that the Nigerian Economy has been hobbled by political uncertainty, bribery and poor management. In addition, Nigerian rulers failed to diversify the country's economy from over-dependence on oil revenues that provides 20% of GDP, 95% of foreign exchange earnings and about 65% of budgetary revenues (CIA, 2013; UNDP, 2013, 2015). On the human development index (HDI), Nigeria is ranked as 151 from a total of 174 countries. It is number sixty-two on the Human Poverty Index (HPI) within a total of 85 countries, while on the gender related development index (GDI), it is ranked as 124 among 143 countries. In Nigeria, 60% of the population exists under the poverty base line of less than \$2 per day, despite a GDP that is estimated to be about \$173 billion (UNDP, 2015).



Map 2. Location of Nigeria in African Continent,, available at, <http://Theodora.com>

2.5 Religious and Literacy Background

In Nigeria, more than half of the population consists of Muslims with over 60 percent, while Christians have over 30 percent and other religions cover 10 percent for both traditional and indigenous beliefs and those without religion. The most widely practiced form of Islam is Sunni while amongst Christians the most widely form of Christianity is the Protestantism at 26 percent. Roman Catholics are 13.45 percent and other creeds 18.25 percent (CIA, 2013). As a result of population diversity, nearly 250 different languages are spoken. English serves as the national language. The rate of literacy in 2014 was 69.1 percent of which literate males were 78.2 percent and literacy among female was 60.1 percent (Length, Nantomah, & Adoma, 2015).

Table 1 Percentage of Population by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Groups	Number	Percentages
Hausa- Fulani	37,681,123	29percent
Yoruba	27,286,331	21percent
Ibo	23,388,283	18percent
Ijaw	2,993,491	10percent
Kanuri	5,197,396	4percent
Ibibio	4,547,722	3.5percent
Tiv	3,248,373	2.5percent
Other	15,592,189	12percent

Politically influential ethnic groups are the Hausa and the Fulani with a share of 29 percent of the total population. The Yoruba in the west have 21percent and in the eastern side the Igbo (Ibo) 18 percent, the Tiv 2.5percent, the Ibibio 3.5percent, the Kanuri 4.1 percent and the Ijaw 6.5percent (CIA,2013).

2.6 The Concept of Aging and the Elderly

Old age or the senescence refers to the final stage in an organism's normal lifespan. However, in humans there exists no single position on the age at which a person becomes old (Little, Vyain, & Scaramuzzo, 2012). As such, the "elderly" are regarded as those 60 years and over. Within these categories, further classifications are the young old, from 60 to 74, the aged, from 75 and above, the old, from 80 and the oldest old, from 85 and over (NPC & ICF, 2013). An earlier constructionist position on defining old age by Harwood, (2007) argued that, although the ageing progression is a biological reality based on dynamics largely beyond the human rheostat, old age is also subject to the specific constructions through which each society perceives later

life. In other words, there is an element of social construction, both indigenous and universal, in the way persons and nations define an elderly person, implying that the collective meaning of the concept of elderly is created through interactions in a given society. This position was supported by Little et al. (2012), who postulated that old age is a cultural construct that should not be understood as merely the chronological amount of time one has lived. Understanding it should also seek beyond the bodily changes taking place through the life course, rather age should be seen also as a social construct based on the norms and social role expectations attached to the stages of life. Therefore, the age of 65 may apply well in western countries, but in Africa it does not adapt well.

A primer study by GlascocGlascoc, A. P., & Feinman, (1980) on defining old age in Africa corroborated by Shofoyeke & Amosun, (2014) indicated that, to understand the definition of old age, three aspects are to be captured. The first is chronology, referring to the number of years spent from birth. Secondly, changes in social role and transformations in the ability to work, such as retirement and passage into higher adult status indicated by having children and menopause in the female gender. Thirdly, transformations in capabilities relating to invalidity in social functioning, becoming senile and the transformation of the physical characteristics in an individual. Results from this cultural analysis of old age suggested that transformation in social role is a major means of defining old age. In Nigeria, the situation is not dissimilar from this explanation. Studies by Irish, (2014) and von Humboldt, (2016) revealed that, in most African countries, determining an individual's age is further compounded by lack of demographic and statistical information about population, including birth certificates

and birth dates. Most people in rural Africa have no records of information about their demographic characteristics.

A contrasting position that departs from the western industrial capitalist conception of old age is evident in the position of (Bensaid, 2014a), who noted that in Islam, old age commences from the age of forty as a time of maturity and wisdom. It was at this age that Prophet Muhammad (SAW) was reported to have received the revelation of the Qur'an. Further, in Islamic literature, there are concepts that can relay both time and socially constructed meanings of old age. For example, (Yakubu & Namadi, 2018). Abdulhamid (1982) had earlier provided the Islamic classifications old age. Thus, the young old is a person aged 60 and 75 who is still active socially. The "Sheikh" refers to an old man of 75 to 85, who is less active socially. The "Haarm" is a much older person of 85 years or more, who is more socially restricted by frailty. Finally, the centenarian known as "Al-Moamer" is 100 years or more.

The above literature on the definition of the elderly and old age shows variations across societies. The implication of these variations might as well mean variations in what old age and the experience of later life imply within a given society. For example, in African societies, persons below the conventional age of sixty-five may play the role of the elderly and expect eldercare as well. Therefore, variations in the aging definition might also mean variations in the way arrangements are made for elderly care across societies. Since old age is a social construct, it is better conceived within the context it occurs. In regard to eldercare, studies seeking solutions to the needs of the elderly should be context-specific in line with such constructed meanings attached to old age

within a given society. Thus, it is important to explore how specific context influences eldercare strategies within a given society prior to developing eldercare models.

2.7 The Challenges And Implications Of Population Aging

2.7.1 Population Aging

Studies have indicated that across all the regions of the world, the elderly population is increasing rapidly and persons of the age grade of 65 years and above presently constitute the most significant portion of the world population more than any period in history of human demography (Bloom, Canning, & Lubet, 2015; Bloom, Mitgang, & Osher, 2016). The group will continue to expand in both absolute and relative terms in relation to the rest of the population. The United Nations Population Division's estimates indicate that there will be a further rise in the population of persons aged 60 from the current 901 million, representing 12% of total global human population, to 2.1 billion by the year 2050, marking a significant increase to 21.5%. The segment of the oldest old, defined as those aged 80 and above, is also expected by these estimates to rise three times the current size of 125 million. This will represent 2% of the world population. Overall, the number of the oldest old is expected to hit a total of 434 million by the year 2050 to represent 4.5% of the total global population (Agarwal, Arunika, et al., 2016; Bloom, Chatterji, et al., 2016; Bremner et al., 2010; P. G. Lloyd-Sherlock et al., 2016; Strange, Bremner, Fisher, Howat, & Wood, 2016).

Bloom, Mitgang, et al., (2016) noted that population ageing occurs because of changes in fertility, mortality and migration. Such changes always occur due to demographic and epidemiologic transitions. A related study by Wiens (2016) revealed that the human population is not only just growing, but it is also redistributing due to the effects

of climate change. In the case of population aging, the basic determinant is declined fertility and mortality rates but, to some extent, international migration also plays a significant role in population ageing within smaller populations. As pointed by Bloom (2016),

Four key stages comprise this transition: 1) countries begin the transition with equally high birth and mortality rates; 2) population size increases as mortality rates decline, fertility rates remain high, and survival rates improve; 3) the population boom peaks followed by a decrease in the crude birth rate, which outpaces the decrease in the crude death rate; and 4) countries re-establish some semblance of equilibrium in fertility and mortality, albeit at markedly lower levels (Bloom, 2016:2).

Specifically, notable characteristics like high levels of childbirth and of mortality shift towards a low rate, often known as demographic transition, when a country transforms from an agrarian society to an industrial one. Demographic ageing, which refers to increase in the percentage of individuals aged 65 and above, is occurring in all the world regions. The increase occurs at monthly intervals in a steady manner. Progression of large cohorts is another important determinant of aging world populations. In this process, there is the progression of large cohorts to older ages over time. This is known as the baby boomers in the united states after the second world war. In developing countries, this can also occur as large youth cohorts survive mortality as health services improve (NPC & ICF, 2013; Wiens, 2016).

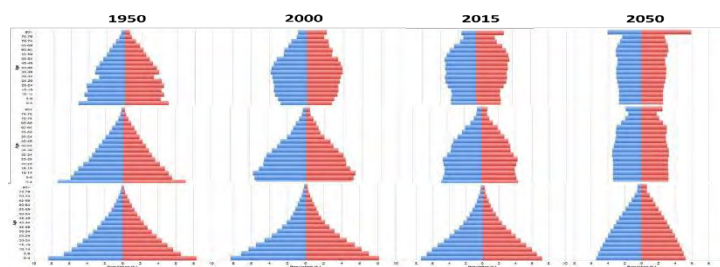


Figure 1 Global Demographic Trends
More Developed Less Developed Least Developed Source: United Nations (2015)

Bloom, et al. (2016) summed up the process of aging as decreased fertility and increased longevity and the attainment of old age by large birth cohorts increases the size of elderly persons, as a share of the total global population. The major objective for social gerontology and related studies is on the implications of population on elderly social protection.

2.7.2 Challenges and Implications

Studies on the socio-economic impact of population aging have noted implications like rising wellbeing care costs and increase in demand for both formal and informal wellbeing care needs as the common consequences of population aging across human societies in all the corners of the world (Animasahun & Chapman, 2017). Given the ubiquity of population aging and increasing longevity, specific ways in which wellbeing in old age can be promoted are now of paramount concern to wellbeing professionals, researchers and policy makers worldwide (World Wellbeing Organization, 2015; Bloom, Chatterji, et al., (2015) capture what greying of the population implies as,

...challenges for countries' economies, and the health of older populations is of concern. Older people have greater health and long-term care needs than younger persons, leading to increased expenditure. They are also less likely to work if they are unhealthy and could impose an economic burden on families and society. Like everyone else, older people need both physical and economic security, but the burden of providing these securities will be falling on a smaller portion of the population (Lancet 2015: 385).

A fairly substantial body of knowledge supports the above position from studies on the challenges posed by changing population demographics. Such studies have noted that the demographic profiles of the 1990s are beginning to manifest in Africa. Even though Africa is yet to experience the full impact of the demographic transition (a period of declining birth and death rates), its elderly population is increasing rapidly (Chane & Adamek, 2015; Nabalamba, A., & Chikoko, 2011). Despite studies indicating that Africa's population is not expected to "explode" until after 2025, the continent is projected to experience one of the largest increases in the absolute number of persons aged 60 and over (Oppong, 2016). The implications posed by this trend means that, as a consequence of fertility and mortality declines, the elderly cohort has begun to grow at unprecedented levels, resulting in the inevitable ageing of African populations. This type of demographic transition is accompanied by a variety of associated implications, challenges and opportunities and invariably has numerous implications for general society and human activities. The most notable of which is a shift in a country's vulnerability profiles across African countries (LifeAge International, 2012). In this regard, the southern region of Sub-Saharan Africa has been noted to experience a rapid aging of its population by 2050. West African countries will have the largest share of older people numbering 51.6 million. Within the West African region, Nigeria and Ghana will have contrasting experiences of this phenomenon (Aboderin & Hoffman, 2015; Bengtson & DeLiema, 2016; Oppong, 2016).

Earlier studies (ONU, 2015 Amaike & Bammeke, 2014; Mba, 2007), pointed that the rise in the proportion of older adults in sub-Saharan Africa generally has serious implications for social support for the elderly over the coming years. The consequence of which means that families, policy makers and governments will need to confront a

high increase in both the number and the proportion of older people in various countries. Importantly, a significant size of this segment may be without adequate care in later life, because the capacity of traditional social support systems to absorb this increase has been on the decline. A body of knowledge also exists showing the context within which population aging is occurring in Africa (Aboderin, 2012; Nabalamba, A., & Chikoko, 2011; Rowe, Fulmer, Jama, & Fried, 2016; F Togonu-Bickersteth, 2014)). Common in these studies are that factors which might further compound issues of elderly wellbeing include the aging of African population occurring within a situation of economic strain and the threat of poverty. In addition, there is lack of access to formal income security and protection. Generally, these studies have explained that the life situations of older people remain precarious, because aging problems are seldom considered as important issues in the development agenda in many African countries. For example, in spite of the rapid economic growth, older adults have continued to exist in poor social and economic situations. As a result, most Sub-Saharan African countries are found in the bottom quarter of the older adult wellbeing index. Mauritius is ranked among the top ten overall ageing-friendly countries in the African region. South Africa is ranked 78 in the world, followed by Ghana 81 and Tanzania 91. Others are Mozambique 94 and Malawi 95; at the bottom five is Nigeria.

A report by the ILO (2010/11) noted that the majority of the world population still has no access to a comprehensive social security system, a position affirmed by a number of comparative studies on the implications of population aging on older adult wellbeing (Devereux & White, 2010; Foster & Walker, 2015; ILO, 2010/11; Niño-Zarazúa, Barrientos, Hickey, & Hulme, 2012). From these studies, a common comparison between developed countries in Europe, where retired older adults have

larger access to highly functional social pension schemes that ensure a reliable source of income, usually serves as the basis for a comparison to the significant percentage of older people in developing countries that are mostly economically disadvantaged and often left out from social protection programmes. Elaborating further, Fleckenstein & Lee, (2017) explained that a “welfare state” regime exists in advanced capitalist countries in which the needs of individuals are provided for through a combination of social security provisions, including pensions, social protection benefits, social services and labour market regulations. Another regime is an “informal security regime” that describes “institutional arrangements where people rely upon community and family relationships to meet their security needs”. However, the formal security regime, which is a state-based welfare and social protection system, is of a “formal type”, which is very limited in its coverage. While the latter type, the “informal” regime, is invisible but tends to be more protective.

Building on the study by ILO (2010/11) that only an estimated 20 per cent of the world’s working-age population and their families have effective access to comprehensive social protection, Mohanty (2011) suggests that since the provision of formal social protection is a common situation among developing countries due to policy deficits and low prioritization of the needs of older adults, there should be a focus on studies for alternative to address the gap by resorting to informal social protection.

2.8 Informal Social Protection And Methods Of Old- Age Care

Informal social protection is an umbrella term that consists of several different informal strategies used by families and communities in securing their livelihoods for a guaranteed standard of living. These strategies rely mainly on social capital taking

several forms of supports in traditional communities aimed at reduction and mitigation of risks (Devereux, 2015). Thus, informal social protection arises from values and norms of solidarity and supportive attitudes among group members (Bilecen & Barglowski, 2015; Sienkiewicz & Bilecen, 2015; Stavropoulou, Holmes, & Jones, 2017). Within a larger framework of social protection, it can be understood as a subset of coping strategies from which assistance is drawn for various purposes (Ayuso, Bravo&Holzmann, 2018; Yakubu & Aziz,2018). In this regard, informal social networks play a critical role in the availability of social protection. This is ensured through the structural set-up of social networks. Some authors (Devereux, S., & Getu, 2013; Devereux, Roelen, & Ulrichs, 2015; Steven Devereux, 1999) distinguish formal Social Protection from informal social protection on the basis that the former is guided by economic and social principles and the latter religious and cultural principles, as well as community and family values.

An earlier primer study by Barrientos and Lloyd-Sherlock (2002) have noted that informal support networks provide social protection for mostolder people in Africa. In this regard, children and the extended family have been a mainstay of traditional social protection systems. Their role has prevented large numbers of older people from sliding into destitution. In return, older people across most African communities perform care roles and pass on cultural knowledge to younger generations in their families and communities (Lloyd-Sherlock, 2000; Sadana, Blas, Budhwani, Koller, & Paraje, 2016). Similarly, other studies in the past (Caldwell & Caldwell, 1976; Delancey, 1990) recorded that informal support systems go beyond the extended family and also include benefits from membership of traditional solidarity networks, co-operative or social associations, such as burial societies, self-help groups and

rotating savings and credit clubs, as well as cultural associations. However, studies (Faist & Bilecen, 2015; Kimani, Ettarh, Kyobutungi, Mberu, & Muindi, 2012) have revealed that the effectiveness of these informal social protection systems is undermined by weak resource bases. They may therefore fail to adequately protect large numbers of older people from poverty. In addition, as noted throughout this literature review, the strength of familial and informal support systems has been diminishing across many countries for reasons associated with modernisation already cited. Therefore, addressing the evident weakness by strengthening options in social protection programmes is essential if Africa's older population is to be protected and cared for.

Studies on specific informal social protection practices from different religions and traditional practices across the globe offer further explanation into the relevance of these methods in protecting the elderly in addition to the embeddedness in social capital. A primer study by Mpedi, (2008) postulated that majority of black Africans are guided by traditional values and symbols based on certain principles. In South Africa, for example, these principles are referred to as:

- Hlonipa: respect
- Simunye: united as one.
- Reciprocity

The principle of 'hlonipa' (respect) requires individuals to respect one another during interactions. As such, children within the community are obliged to relate with old and senior members with complete respect. There is also the principle of 'Simunye', which refers to the spirit of oneness derived from traditional religious practices. Manifestations of Simunye include assistance to destitute family members if one has

the subjective means to do so. Simunye as a principle also prescribes sanctions on any defaulter by risking the wrath of ancestors for abandoning responsibility. This rule has special regard to family members, parents and grandparents and its violation is believed to cause illness and bad luck. Similarly, the curse of an elderly person is feared by children, because it leads one to be socially ostracized. As such, in all circumstances the views of the elderly should be sought for and taken into consideration (Mpedi, 2008). The importance of this principle to old age care is the attachment to seniority. This aspect has the potential that can be mobilized towards further responsibility on the younger generation. This way, the availability of more support to the elderly can be secured.

Another dimension of the principle of simunye emphasizes group solidarity, which enables a high level of cohesion in African societies. In addition to solidarity, there is much emphasis on collectivism. Therefore, in place of the survival of the fittest, African social life is guided by a survival imperative of the entire community. Due to these features, Africans seem willing to make altruistic sacrifices for the benefit and welfare of their groups both at family and community levels. There exists also much concern on the welfare of vulnerable and weaker members of the community, family members, the sick and the aged. The term “Mokoduo go tsosiwa o itsosang” is an expression in Zulu that can be applied to offer support to those persons who make attempts towards helping themselves (Mpedi, 2008). This also implies a potential that can be inclusive of the elderly in varied circumstances. Further, the principle of reciprocity guides Africans on norms of interpersonal behaviour within families and among community members in native African societies. The principle of reciprocity is of great meaning in collaboration with other principles like respect and a higher

sense of community (Mpedi, 2008). In Africa, reciprocity is a universal expectation that prevails in all communities (Mushunje & Kaseke, 2018). The principle can be extended to the good deeds on the elderly at different periods, occasions and reasons.

A similar study by Biesele and Howell (1981) on the Hxaro system denotes a mutual exchange system that is both a source of social capital and socially supportive behaviour found among the Ju/hoansi or Kung in the Kalahari Desert. It is based on gifts, storytelling and regular visits. The main task of the system is to protect the Kung in times of food shortage, drought or flooding. The word “hxaro” translates in English as “Path for Things,” reflecting gift exchange. This system of delayed reciprocity is specific to the Ju/hoansi’s. As an eldercare practice, Hxaro takes care of the elderly when the person becomes less able to exchange resources, when due to age social circles diminish. The only means available to avoid being discarded is to engage in resource management or Hxaro. Participation includes maintaining a large inheritance or participating in social exchange systems via child care and friendship (Biesele & Howell, 1981). Participation in Hxaro implies dependency on social relationships and mutual assistance (Draper & Howell, 2005).

Ju/hoansi kinship is organized as small nomadic units, living and moving consistently together. There is much importance attached to maintaining group harmony by keeping conflicts to the barest minimum. Peace and harmony are survival imperatives due to the harshness of the desert environment. Social relationships are also vital to the survival of each individual in the Hxaro system of exchange (Biesele & Howell, 1981). In Hxaro, the sex of the exchanger does not matter much. A person can be associated

with an average of 16 exchange partners and spend about a quarter of the year in creating or procuring gifts and mutual visits (Biesele & Howell, 1981; Weiss, 2002).

Thus, in Hxaro exchange, both men and women participate equally without gender bias. Most gifts are exchanged discreetly without the need to attract attention. As such, it is difficult to know the extent of a person's Hxaro. Hxaro exchanges commence very early in a person's life with close relatives in childhood. The system among the Ju/haonsi is a highly supportive framework for support to the elderly in later years. The elderly among Ju/'hoansi or Kung may have physical limitations, but they are frequently healthy and active contributors to their camps. Among various elderly roles, grandparents passed on the skills needed to take part in the hxaro system by giving away some of their possessions to foster social ties. The importance of the established relationship and delayed reciprocity is emphasized. As an individual becomes older and mobility decreases, spheres of Hxaro narrowed and upon death Hxaro partnerships were dropped or inherited by descendant (Meyer, 2018; Raufman, 2018)

The rules that govern the Hxaro system are the goods involved. Items exchanged are dogs, vessels, excavating sticks, pipes, jewellery, ostrich eggshell, beads, necklaces, arrows, knives and goats, among others (Hochschild, 2017). However, food and people have never been considered as objects of hxaro. Gifts are basically given at every social visit or gathering and further determination of the frequency in Hxaro exchanges depends on the strength of ties and the availability of goods. Stronger bonds among people imply more frequent Hxaro exchanges between them. Hxaro Gifts are presented in form of a safety valve when conflict is anticipated or in attempts to resolve one. Kalusopa, Dicks & Osei-Boateng (2012) noted that the Hxaro system upholds theories

of support that emerged within the relational perspective. The practice focussed on the role of elders in terms maintaining supportive relationships as whole for the functioning of the Ju/haonsi society. In this regard, the Ju/hoansi has a special value, which equips the group with an understanding of both conflict resolution and prevention. Similarly, the Hxaro also upholds communal patterns of sharing, which is a vital source of social capital(Kalusopa, Dicks, & Osei-Boateng, 2012)..

Elders are especially caring and of great assistance towards their grandchildren. Techniques of hunting, cultural knowledge, folklores values and mastery of the environment are taught to the next generation. The elders do not believe in accumulating goods more than they need. Like in most parts of Africa, reciprocity remains the most important aspect of the hxaro to them. This is because it is a form of delayed exchange that can be useful in later life. The delayed aspect of the exchange is crucial to the Ju/'hoansi. With reciprocity, it is believed that one is never finished. This can be a potential source of material and emotional security to the elderly (Bieseke & Howell, 1981). Hxaro partnerships can be terminated by agreement with old age. The ages of 30 to 60 are the most active in the Hxaro system. However, with age the network shrinks (Bieseke & Howell, 1981). Generally, the Hxaro can serve as a long-term institution that ensures the continuity of ties in the interest of elderly people with function as a safety net. Recent literature on the Hxaro system shows that it has been proposed as a model for teaching and learning (Ninkova & Hays, 2017). However, there is no evidence of publication on it as responsive model of eldercare in relation to population aging.

Hobbs & Jackson (2016) and Mohanty (2011) presented a similar reciprocal model that exists among the Pacific Island countries. Both studies explained that, due to limitations in application of state-led welfare, there exists excessive reliance on traditional informal and non-state social protection systems. The basis of protection is the broader community and extended family system. As such, social protection is mainly based on the norm of reciprocity, particularly in rural areas. Diverse types of reciprocal exchange, including generalized, specialized or redistributive types are practiced (Hobbs & Jackson, 2016; Mohanty, 2011). In the generalized type of reciprocity, the exchange of goods is done without specific value bounded to time in terms of repayment. A notable example of such practice is the “kerekere system” of Fiji. Brison, (2007) and Ramacake, (2010) in their studies claimed that, within the Fijian context, individual activity is devoted to developing and reinforcing social interactions and communal interests. “Turaga marama, talatala mata-nivanua” are important concepts and tools of unity upon which social protection revolves. Further, (Barrientos, A and Hulme, 2008; Barrientos, 2010; 2012; Ratuva, 2006) explained that the social values of Fijians are full of ideas that are friendly to the norms of reciprocity.

Among these norms are:

- Veivukei: offering a helping hand.
- Veinanumi: the act of being considerate
- Veilomani: being loving and friendly with one another,
- Duavata: togetherness
- Yalovata: a person of the same spirit
- Kerekere: asking for aid based on reciprocity
- Solesolevaki: joint communal labour
- Solevu: large-scale mobilization and redistribution of resources
- Soli Vakavanua: social generosity.

A similar study reveals the power of networking in eldercare presented by Mohanty (2011) in another Fijian kinship network called “Viewekani”. This exists as a network of social protection where individuals are catered for by their families and communities in times of trials and need. Similarly, Hobbs & Jackson (2016) noted that the kinship networks or Viewekani constitute blood and social ties. These ties are mobilized as social protection in which individuals and families can be catered for by other members in times of need. Both contribution and the distribution of resources in the network are binding forces in the Viewekani system. The Viewekani traditional social protection method exists to provide safety nets to the disadvantaged. In relation to population aging, its reorientation and mobilization towards aging crises can provide relevant options for the elderly wellbeing within and outside Fijian society. Recent studies also revealed that the Vewikani is a more responsive model to eldercare operated through local community old age care projects designed through community collaboration with the assistance of social and health workers and other local committees.

Still on a similar fashion, studies by Arua & Eka, (1980) and Nanau, (2018), show that in New Guinea the Wantok exists as a tradition that is a highly symbolic and interactive. It is a practice which views the position and experiences of elders as socially constructed on varied levels of interaction. The system is based on reciprocity with direct benefits for the elderly through strong binding relationships within a family, clan or tribe. In the Wantok system, the elderly, the disabled and the orphaned are catered for by the extended family. Wantok means giving higher preference to kin in future expectation of a similar reciprocal action as an obligation fulfilment. The flexibility within the Wantok is an important potential in terms of the ability to cover

a wider population of the elderly, including childless and widowed individuals. Wantokism is administered traditionally as a form of an informal social security system. For each person, his/her “wantons” are obliged to provide food and shelter, as well as defence in times of conflict. There are three main values that underpin Papua New Guinean culture, namely Wantok, reciprocity and the timing of the sun. This further makes the wantok a universal phenomenon among Melanesians. As such, any project in relation to the elderly can have a higher prospect of success due to the universal nature of wantokism among this group (Nanau, 2018).

The wantok as a group-oriented practice is part of the culture acquired by everyone through socialization. In practice, it involves exchanging foods items and offering and helping a wantok in times of need. Such help includes: bride price, compensation, illness, death, rites and helping another community in times of need. This is done by giving out pigs and assisting the vulnerable like needy elders. Similar to Viewekani, the items exchanged in the Wantok also include pigs, gardens, house and even children. In the event of bereavement, neighbouring tribes sympathize by supplying food and other needed items to mourners. In Wantok, asking has no value. The rule is simply giving something to another person knowing for sure that it will be returned whenever needed (Murayama, H., Bennett, J. M., Shaw, B. A., Liang, J., Krause, N., Kobayashi, E., ... & Shinkai, 2013; Nanau, 2011). Since it refers to the sense of duty and obligation particularly in the village setting, elders are provided with a sense of security, wealth and a share of responsibilities. Still in relation to the elderly, the benefits of the Wantok system are extended through both immediate and extended families, with primary consideration for older people that lack retirement benefits. Nanau & Omnes (2011 and Nanau (2018) postulated that the wantok system could be

regarded as a “safety net” within the context of Solomon Islands due to the absence of formal social service schemes.

However, a number of studies on the wantok have noted that it is a system in which the people are over-dependent on care and assist each other across all societal affairs. Therefore, it promotes nepotism and corruption in politics, demotes entrepreneurial development, weakens the minds of individuals and promotes laziness. Recently, studies on the Wantok show that educated youngsters deny participating in wantoks by relocating far away from villages and families in protest of Wantokism. Another raise in the Wantok is that failure to reciprocate any support leads to indebtedness or blame that detracts from the benefits of the support itself (Nanau 2018 ; Nanau & Omnes , 2011). Generally, studies on the Wantok revealed potential social capital that can be mobilized with a few modifications in its structural setting. Earlier, a primer study by Kaseke & Dhemba (2006) shows an African method of informal protection from Zimbabwe. The authors explained that the inadequacy of a formal social security system in Zimbabwe led to the rise of the non-formal social security arrangements. Such arrangements include burial societies and the “Zunde raMambo”. Both schemes address the needs of their members and can cater for them in old age. Both are informal safety nets with wider viability, coverage and protection to the vulnerable and the aged in communities across Zimbabwe. The zunde serves as an institution within the economic base of Zimbabwean society. It was created by traditional rulers to save their society against mishaps in the event of drought and famine. The collective nature with which the zunde is sustained portrays the very nature African traditional socialism and high sense of community.

The concept of Zunde raMambo means the Chief's granary and refers to cultivation fields designated by the local chief to cultivate food crops by members of the community. What are harvested remain stored in a common granary watched under the direction of the chief. The basic aim of Zunde was the reservation of food for the community against any food shortage. It can also be used to feed the chief's soldiers, prisoners, advisors and the general purpose of the community. The Zunde as a form of social security protection in the pre-colonial era was relatively comprehensive, appropriate and effective. This is because coverage included all members at various levels from the family to the community. Food security was guaranteed and the Zunde ensured protection in the event of drought or poor harvests. The elderly, orphans, the disabled and members of the community in general were the beneficiaries (Kaseke, 2006a, 2013; Lunga & Musarurwa, 2016; Stavropoulou, Holmes, & Jones, 2017). Previous studies on the zunde have called for more studies to revive it for various purposes like women health care and girl empowerment. The model has recently been proposed as a social protection option in times of disaster for resilience among women in Zimbabwe (Mushunje & Kaseke, 2018). However, there is no evidence for a complete model of old-age care in relation to the Zunde.

A contrasting method of elder care among the Inuit people that has both reciprocity and abuse is reported by Miller (2011). In this model, old-age care is an aspect of the women's duty along with childbirth and child care. Women are responsible for knitting, sewing skins, making clothes, preserving, processing, cooking, feeding and taking care of the sick and the old members of the clan. They also help in building and taking care of the family's shelter. Kinship is the most valued relationship and forms the basis for cooperation within the community. Conflicts are resolved within the community (Miller, 2011). Members who threaten the structure and function of the

Inuit community are expelled, sometimes by death. The place of women is unique within Inuit culture and they remain in charge of what, when and how to run the household from day today. Earlier studies by Kirmayer, (1994) and Pelagie,(2008) show that unlike the wantok system in Melanesian society, among the Inuit there is a sharp contrast in the approach to old age. The prime reason is that Eskimos must work very hard to survive against the vagaries of the environment. This poses a lot of difficulty to adults who are no longer contributing labour to the group survival. Thus, in old age rather than wait to become a burden on others like eating food supplied by others, eating meat caught by others and wearing clothes weaved by others, elderly Eskimos embark to the sea. At the end of the journey, they are set adrift to float on an iceberg alone. Eventually on the iceberg, they inevitably freeze or gradually starve to death as their end (Kemp & McRae, 2016; Somogyi, Barker, MacLean, & Grischkan, 2015). A similar study by Miller (2011) explained that the practice is based on the belief that another world awaits the elderly at the end of their journey. Furthermore, this way of exit is preserved within the minds of living community members, who usually believe the elderly to be in better and more ideal states. It also means being spared from disgrace associated with bodily depreciation in old age based on the belief that dying first without decaying is better for an Inuit. Inuit women's responsibility of old age-care provides a unique approach in traditional methods (Somogyi, Backer & Maclean 2015). However, the practice of elder suicide seems to be the major difficulty which needs to be further addressed for the method to remain useful and relevant

Overall, the literature reviewed shows that the methods of the informal social protection strategies of elderly care vary in terms of the quality and dimensions of the care offered. The meaning attached to old age and how the elderly are valued form the motive behind each method and how it influences the dimension of care extended

to them. As evident from the literature, while some of the methods rely on mutual exchange and offer material dimension of care, others are based on reciprocity. Some methods are more individualistic in approach, yet others are network-oriented. It is also evident that more can be mobilized in terms of social capital from some of the methods. Although a significant part of the literature on informal social protection (Barrington et al., 2018; Ramacake, 2010; Ratuva, 2006; Somogyi et al., 2015) was not specific on how social values extend care including its dimensions, a few other earlier studies like Biesele and Howell (1981) demonstrated, for example, how the Hxaro system operates a mutual exchange system that takes care of material dimensions. Similarly, the power of networking was presented by Mohanty (2011), and Hobbs & Jackson (2016), noting how kinship networks are mobilized as social protection. A study by Nanau (2011) shows a system of reciprocity, which directly benefits the elderly through local community old-age care projects (Nanau, 2011). Two methods with a contrasting approach to eldercare based on the studies by Miller (2011) had both reciprocity and abuse among the Inuit and Zimbabweans. In both methods, old age care is an aspect of life and death.

Among the methods reviewed, a more responsive approach to population aging is evident in the studies by Hobbs & Jackson (2016) and Mohanty (2011), which recommend informal social protection as a response to population aging by arguing on the limitations in the application of state-led welfare. Evidence from these studies indicates a general weakness in the practical applications of the methods of old age care, implying gaps in the literature. There is the need for a deeper focus to uncover the actual sources of weakness in these methods and how to mobilize each for other purposes. A significant number of recent studies reviewed on informal social

protection (Kelman, Lewis, Gaillard, & Mercer, 2011; Menec et al., 2015; Mikhailovich, Pamphilon, & Chambers, 2015; C. A. Vaughan, Foshee, & Ennett, 2010), were on subsistence farming, environment, health and communications. Even though a study by Ninkova & Hays,(2017) proposed the Hxaro as a model for teaching and learning and a recent study by Mushunje & Sewpaul, (2018) proposes the Zunde as a social protection option in times of disaster for resilience among women in Zimbabwe, yet no evidence yet exists for a complete model of old-age care in relation to the Zunde.

Since social values and traditional structures offer a wide range of options that can be mobilized towards more effective ways to cope with the challenges of aging, the elderly can be protected within traditional values, as noted in other societies. Generally, elements of social capital like reciprocity, networking, mutual exchange, goodwill, religious belief, religious participation, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse are inherent concepts in these methods. It is evident that much of the earlier research on informal social protection in relation to elderly care were carried out in Asian societies, except a few on African methods like the Zunde and Hxaro .Therefore, there is the need for studies on African methods of informal social protection. A study of the Jeedo practice might as well contribute in filling this gap.

2.9 The Challenges and Prospects of Informal social protection for Old-age care in Nigeria

An earlier study by Calasanti, (2005) noted how the changes affecting the socially constructed meaning of old- age across different cultural settings have resulted in variations in the ways older people are treated, resulting in either respect, abandonment or deprivation. Similar studies by Agunbiade & Akinyemi, (2017) have

corroborated this earlier assertion that in many developing countries, the changes in social values attached to old age are having larger effects on the ideas of 'aging, leading to worse experiences and increased vulnerability in addition to the marginalization of older people. A similar study by Eboiyehi, (2015) contributed to the studies on changing perceptions by examining how the social construction of old age affects care and support for the aged among the Esan people of South-South Nigeria. The results of the study show that the traditional care and support for the aged is diminishing due to the way the younger generation perceives old age and the aged. The change in perception is linked to Western influence, which is gradually eroding the traditional/cultural belief where the aged were seen in positive light. There is the need for cultural re-awakening. This may be carried out within the framework of a creative multi-track social policy intervention that would enable families to continue being the main care providers of the aged. The recommendations of the study include change of attitude and importantly learning from other countries to formulate or strengthen policies/programmes aimed at enhancing relationships across generations, such as having a "family day" like it is done in Malaysia, where both the young and the old can participate.

More on a similar note, a study by Dimkpa, (2015) on the perspectives on elder bias and abandonment in Nigeria noted that elderly care as an important traditional culture of the Nigerian people is on the decline due to the erosion of the culture by foreign influence, modernization and urbanization, as well as economic and social problems. The need to restore the culture of care-giving was emphasized, especially due to the adverse effects and consequences of elderly neglect, which includes sickness, destitution and even death. Recommendations included advocacy for the preservation of customs and traditions of the Nigerian people that are positive in nature, the call for

traditional chiefs to uphold and emphasize elderly care among their subjects, training gerontological nurses and counsellors by the government, integrating a gerontological study in the school curriculum and funding existing elderly care homes with the collaboration of private agencies, amongst others. A recent study by Atata, (2018) exposed other dimensions of the difficulty associated with old age in Nigeria. The study found that old-age care is undermined by the accusation of witchcraft against aged women in south-eastern Nigeria. In this part of Nigeria, the population is predominantly Igbo. The study describes the forms of maltreatment and violence meted out on the aged resulting in different forms of violence, such as alienation and killing. In particular, aged women are alleged to be witches by their family, household and community members. The forms of violence against them are physical, social, economical and psychological, such as the induced or forced death of any aged woman labelled a witch, beating, deprivation and neglect/seclusion, starvation and withholding basic amenities, such as healthcare.

Studies by Lunga & Musarurwa, (2016) Menec et al., (2015) and Nyanguru (2013) have shown that the traditional values of African society which revolved around respect for the elderly, a community sense of belonging and intergenerational sharing have been taken for granted. In addition, the authors noted that the dignity of the aged among community members might sooner than expected become a story of Africa's past, unless the values that translate to positive old-age care experiences are revived. Similar studies by Amaike., & Bammeke, (2014) and Stanley, M., Richard, A. & Williams, S. (2017) corroborated this assertion. Although , Amaike (2014) argued that the popular opinion about the favourable condition of elderly people in "traditional" Nigerian society was rather a stereotypical and wishful picture of their lives, a position supported by Richard and Williama (2017), who pointed that traditional community

settings are no longer a paradise for the elderly. Many of them are lonely and lack proper care. Not only that, their wisdom and knowledge were rarely “tapped”; they were often lonely and bored; some appeared to be totally neglected. They received little care and often complained about hunger. Furthermore North & Fiske, (2015) affirmed this by noting that the dominant social and economic positions of the elderly have been eroded due to changes in the perception of old age.

Other studies caution on the negative impact of newly introduced religious values on old-age care. Akanle & Adeogun, (2014) examined the nexus and trajectories of Pentecostalism, kinship and the elderly in Akanran, Ona-Ara Local government, Oyo State, Nigeria. Data was collected through qualitative methods and content analysed. The authors argued that as Pentecostalism continues to emerge and consolidate, it is affecting social relations, kinship, culture and marriages and will impact on the care of the elderly in a numerous way. The authors cautioned that it is important for gerontologists to engage the ligaments of Pentecostalism, ageing processes and the elderly. Noting the importance of informal care, it was further argued that, since the Nigerian formal socio-economic systems do not care for the elderly, the family and kinship that has hitherto been filling the gap should be protected. Therefore, if an aspect of religion appears to have elements that adversely affect family, kinship and marriage like the position of Pentecostalism on polygyny, it is important for scientists to begin to interrogate those religious elements for proper understanding and possible appropriation.

On the extended family’s role in old-age care, a study by (Adeniyi-Ogunyankin, 2012) reflected that in Nigeria traditionally the extended family system has been socially supportive for the elderly and still accounts for a large proportion of the support. As

such, most aged persons are highly tended towards support from their relatives, friends and offspring. This expectation has been largely responsible for large family size, where it is believed that the more children one has the more secured the individual tends to be in old age. However, other studies (Aboderin, 2012; Babatunji et al., 2015; Dimkpa, 2015; Okoye, 2012; Oyinlola, Adebowale, & Alamu, 2017; Shofoyeke & Amosun, 2014; Funmi Togonu-Bickersteth & Akinyemi, 2013; Wahab & Adedokun, 2012)(Babatunji et al., 2015; Okoye, 2012; Funmi Togonu-Bickersteth & Akinyemi, 2013; Wahab & Adedokun, 2012) have identified and forwarded various reasons as to why many children are not supporting their aged parents. In addition, elder support networks are weak or non-existent in most parts of the country. These are among the factors that seem to have further exacerbated the challenges faced by informal elder-care strategies.

A departure from the romance with the revival of traditional values of old-age care is evident in the study by Echeta & Ezech, (2017), who examined the traditional Igbo philosophy about the aged and the problems encountered in elder care. They used the Old Testament as a parameter to evaluate the Igbo care of the elderly in recent times. Data for the study were gathered from over fifteen years of research, oral interviews and library research. The historical method of data analysis was adopted in the study. The authors argued strongly that old- age care is negatively perceived and such perception was responsible for the plight of the elderly in Igbo society. They caution that to properly address the challenges of the elderly care, there is the need for consistent and intense enlightenment and adjustment on the elderly to accept a paradigm shift in caring methods between traditional and contemporary Igbo societies. The study supported institutional care and recommended that old people be sensitized about the changing times that necessitate a change of strategies in providing care to

them. Importantly, the family and the Igbo people should borrow a leaf from Israeli eldercare strategies.

Generally, it appears that old people are less able to rely on rapidly waning traditional care systems. Another problem exposed by the studies reviewed is increasing individualism leading to the abandonment of filial obligation and the community norms of old age care. Generally, therefore, it seems the traditional old-age care system in Igboland is weak. Importantly, however, there is a dearth of studies that clearly demonstrate how solutions can be proposed from non-state institutions as recommended by previous studies. To the best of my knowledge, there is no study in Nigeria that is oriented to seeking for practical solutions within communities from the literature available. On the prospects of informal protection, a renewed focus on studying the values that could have permanent validity in addressing vulnerability among elderly Nigerians is evident. In this regard, the potentialities of informal social protection can serve as an avenue that supplements formal social security programmes towards addressing vulnerability and old-age care issues. Informal social protection strategies are potentially indispensable sources to be mobilized in addressing the gap experienced in elderly care. Historically, in Nigeria informal social protection used to be the mainstay of social security provisioning before independence and the eventual assumption of the role of the state. The need for a shift in focus towards informal social protection strategies in addressing issues of eldercare is also evident from numerous studies on formal social protection in Nigeria (ODI, 2011; Babajanian & Hagen-Zanker, 2012; Norton; Holmes & Akinrimisi, 2012; Stavropoulou, Holmes & Jones, 2017; Eze, 2010). In relation to practical issues in formal old-age care, one can argue that the need for options in the approach towards old-age care becomes glaring. In addition, studies on practices across the globe provide sufficient evidence that

informal methods of social protection can be strengthened to serve as an alternative coping strategy with the teeming population of elderly persons (Abidin, Maidin & Salleh, 2017; Malik, 2014; Mohanty, 2011; Mydin & Ahmad, 2014; Nanau, 2011; Sufian & Mohamad, 2013; UNFPA & HelpAge International, 2012).

A summary from the reviewed literature on the challenges of social protection and old-age care in Nigeria shows that some studies view the issues affecting the effectiveness of informal methods of old-age care as arising from the way elder support networks have been weakened or even ceased to exist in most parts of the country (Aboderin, 2012; Dimkpa, 2015; Oyinlola, Adebawale & Alamu, 2017; S. a. et al., 2012; Shofoyeke & Amosun, 2014 (Babatunji et al., 2015; Okoye, 2012; Funmi Togonu-Bickersteth & Akinyemi, 2013; Wahab & Adedokun, 2012). Other studies (Menec, Bell, Novek, Minnigaleeva, Morales, Ouma & Winterton, 2015; Nyanguru 2013; Amaike, 2014 and Stanley, Richard & Williams, 2017) argued, based on the changes in perception of the traditional values, which revolve around respect for the elderly and the need to be revived. A few other studies (North & Fiske, 2015; Amaike, 2014; Williams, 2017) tend to have an economic point of view, arguing that the dominant social and economic positions of the elderly have been eroded. Yet, other studies caution on the negative impact of new religious values.

It is clear that studies on Nigeria are generally oriented on the changes in the perception of old age across societies (Adeniyi-Ogunyankin, 2012.; Atata, 2018; Eboiyehi, 2015). A major weakness in these studies lies in the recommendations that were commonly made on policy reform and institutionalisation as the way forward, except for an insignificant number that calls for the revival of traditional values. Therefore, this traditional position of Nigerian scholars on elderly care has been on policy, revival of

traditional values and institutionalization. Thus, it appears that research is not in line with trend of researches that are solution-oriented through informal care as an alternative to formal care. This indicates the gap in the literature that needs to be filled by this study on Jeedo practice as a method of eldercare within the informal social protection regime.

2.10 Religion as a potential source of Informal Protection

Evidence from a broad body of knowledge implies that religion is potential source of coping and protection. The relation between religion and the social values of mutual support, as highlighted by philosophers and sociologists, can be of greater potential to elderly wellbeing and care. For example, Marx ([1848] 1964) viewed religion as the opiate of the masses and that, by preventing change, it undermines the society. This largely suggests that due to commitment to religion, most people tend to value humility and obedience more than independence and power. To Durkheim ([1897] 1964), the analysis of religion and suicide implies that some religious adherents tend to value the teaching of their religions by upholding and respecting traditions and communal bonds taught by such religions. According to Weber (1905), Calvinist Protestantism promoted and supported industrialization in Western Europe by influencing believers to emphasize wealth, success, ambition and perseverance at the expense of self-indulgence and pleasure. As such, across most societies, actions supported by religious values are bound to succeed in spite variations (Cohen & Lee, 2016 ; Manthras, Cohen , MandelMalik, 2016).

Studies on religion have shown that it remains a significant factor in all the aspects of social life (Mellor & Shilling, 2010; Turner, 2010). Broadly, there are two ways to

define religion within the sociological tradition. These are the classical and the exclusivist. In this regard, the *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* provides an early classical definition of it by Émile Durkheim (1965), which has been the basis of the sociological analysis of religion. Durkheim understands religion as an integrated system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things set aside and regarded as forbidden. This made possible the creation and sustenance of beliefs and practices uniting human groups into a single moral community. The definition emphasizes the collective nature of religion as a positive aspect of social life. The sacred represents aspects of society that bind people together during collective rituals, resulting in commonness of emotions and collective effervescence. However, to Durkheim, religion does not necessarily mean a belief in god (Turner, 2010; Watkins, 2011; Hobson, Schroeder & Risen, 2017). A contrasting position to Durkheim's is an exclusivist definition of religion, which defines and explains it based on the presence of God. According to Stark & Bainbridge (1996), religion refers to systems that assume supernatural powers, which have the capacity to compensate adherents with rewards in the afterlife. This justifies why adherents of exclusivist religions remain in need of such supernatural belief systems as the basis of meanings to their existence and as a matter of rational choice (Hobson & Schroeder, 2017). From the two definitions, practices that are religious might possess the potentialities of serving for purposes of collectivism, binding, commonness of emotions, collective effervescence and the expectation of compensation by adherents with rewards in the afterlife, which are seen as the basis of meanings to their existence.

Another macro-sociological analysis of religion is based on the structural functionalist theory presented by Talcott Parsons. In this perspective, the human society is

considered as a system possessing different parts that correspond to various institutions in a social system. Each institution contributes towards the maintenance of the entire whole by performing specific functions. Thus, there are four crucial functions that these institutions must perform to maintain a healthy social fabric: adaptation, goal attainment, integration and latency pattern maintenance (Mouzelis, 2016; Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2017; Thompson, Hickey & Thompson, 2016). The functionalist theory focuses on the role of religion from the contribution it makes to the social order. Such roles include, among others, guidance to what life should be as the purpose of man's existence, emotional comfort, building and sustaining social cohesion and explanations regarding eternal prosperity or peril (Henslin, 2004). According to Riis & Woodhead (2010), Simmel acknowledges that religion possesses a social character and goes beyond ritual gatherings to a broader range of social situations. Theorizing within the framework of Durkheimian analysis of religion, both Parsons and Malinowski shared a position in which they see religion as the basis of social solidarity and its maintenance (Parsons, 1960). Similar to Parsons, O'Dea (1966) postulated that religion is useful as a coping mechanism against uncertainty and misfortunes arising from varied circumstances in life (Watkins, 2011 ; Hobson , Schroeder & Risen, 2017). From these perspectives, the position of functionalism on eldercare practices is a modernist approach, an approach in which there should be constant adjustment and further adaptations in eldercare values and practices. Thus, the functionalist approach sees lack of social support, care and protection for elders as a manifestation of a disfunction because parts of society are not working properly (Henslin, 2004). To fix the disfunction, for example, Muslim societies must revive long-standing institutions and practices to be adaptive and responsive to contemporary issues, in this regard, emphasis on population aging and the challenges it poses to the elderly. Conversely,

from a conflict perspective, despite similarities between Marx and Durkheim about the social construction of religion, Marx sees religion as a tool that is used in oppressing the powerless by the bourgeoisie. For Marx, therefore, religion serves as the basis for reification, further distortions of conscience, the legitimization of inequality and preserving the status quo within a particular historical epoch. For example, under the feudal order, religion protected Monarchs and under Capitalism it serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. As such, wherever there is oppression, religion is the basic promoter of sentiments and service as the opium of the masses (Marx & Engels 1848/1969 in Riis & Woodhead, 2010). In the Marxist framework, the function of religion is not merely social but socioeconomic and political. In this scheme, religion has the potential ability to determine social behaviour at both societal and individual levels since it is an ideology to Marx. Religion can therefore be an emancipatory device for the oppressed and the marginalized like the elderly in Nigeria.

Studies on the bases of micro-sociological theorizing by Mellor & Shilling (2010) build on the assumption that humans are inherently open to their world in a manner that exposes them to a series of vagaries within both the social and natural environment to which they relate. Such uncertainty forms the basis for requesting answers and meaning to their actions in addition to self-control and orientation. A famous position has been postulated by Berger and Luckmann (1963) that religion serves as a vehicle through which individuals find meaning in their world. This is particularly through fear as a cognitive rule in which case fear arises from confusing and diverse phenomena within their horizon. The result is a social order and framework for existence, spelling out a basis for the social act, social roles, social identity and structuring of habits above biological existence. Such mysteries in life and the

relationship to hidden powers between a religion and its adherents play a strategic role in the creation and development of human society (Berger, 1990).

Studies have shown various dimensions of protection offered by religion in coping with old age. Earlier studies by Krause, Ingersoll-Dayton, Liang & Sugisawa (1999) maintained that religion encourages people to provide help to significant others and greater involvement in religion is associated with providing help to others, more often among older individuals. Similarly, (Bengtson & DeLiema, 2016; Neal Krause, 2015, 2016) Silverstein & Bengtson (2018); Krause (2015); Bengtson, Johnson and Johnson (2015) have noted that the need to help others is espoused by virtually all of the world's major religions. This was succinctly supported by Chair & Johnson (2017), who maintained that compassion and kindness are theological imperatives in most religious traditions and that helping others is central to the rhetoric and rationale of many faiths. Consistent with these views, the emphasis on helping others is found in Islam and many other religions and cultural practices across the globe (Neal Krause, 2015; Wink, Dillon, & Farina, 2018). Numerous studies on the relationship between religion and health have shown that religion has a positive link to health. Studies by Johnson, Williams and Bromley (1986) and Polner (1989) have all reported a positive association between prayer and the individual's perception of health and wellbeing among the elderly. Thus, religion has long been regarded as consequential for one's wellbeing because religious practices affect bodily states and health conditions more generally. Further, religious belief has a high tendency for a solitary effect on health conditions.

The religion social support hypothesis has been tested and the findings reveal that religious activity and religious organizations represent ways in which people often find social support and feeling of belonging. Among the elderly, social support has a positive effect in the short term to buffer the effects of stress in the long term. Religion is a gateway to supportive relationships due to the special properties of social integration it possesses. Earlier studies tend to be more context-specific like a primer study by Rohlen (1976) observes that religion is closely aligned with aging in Japan and aging is associated with freedom from socially defined roles. By encouraging older men to participate in an inner, spiritual world, religion may free them from the proscriptions of earlier sex role socialization, thereby setting the stage for the development of more nurturing relationships with others. Older adults who are religious tend to enjoy better physical and mental health than elderly people, who are less involved in religion (VanderWeele & Koenig, 2017). Similar positions on religion as a coping mechanism in old age were upheld by Krause et al. (2015). Conversely, other studies show that religion does indeed appear to encourage elderly people to aid their social network members.

Studies specific to Islam tend to reveal more prospects about the role it can have in responding to old-age care needs. Studies on Islamic social capital (Hussain & Khali, 2014; Man, 2011) show that Muslim societies have the potentials of utilizing the structures under the umbrella of charity in coping with the challenges of global aging across various countries. Similarly, Zuki (2012) points to charity as the broad umbrella under which a functional social support can be achieved more effectively in Muslim societies. Charity has consistently been emphasized as an act of righteousness in Islam, with multidimensional benefits that cover spiritual, social, economic, social

justice and collective good (Mawdudi, 1948; bin Man, M. Z., 2011). As such, the potentiality of charity in functioning towards the needs of the elderly is vast. In addition, the Qur'an provides a wider perspective of charity to include smiles, the removal of harmful objects, ensuring justice between people, greetings and salutations, uttering good words, offering a glass of water to those in need and taking steps to the Masjid, among endless others. Khan (2016) further explains that charity is of two types, the obligatory and the voluntary made up of Zakat, Waqf, Sadaqah, Hiba and Wasiyyah.

Inference made from studies on waqf has shown that one important way of funding a functional elder-care and support system might lie with waqf (Jalil, Yahya & Pitchay, 2016; Zakaria, Samad & Shafii, 2012). For example, currently a consensus exists among a significant number of contemporary scholars of Islam on the potentialities of the Waqf institution. In this regard, it is seen as a highly potent institution, which functions as a source of redress for socio-economic inequalities. Evidence abound from studies on the effective role that Waqf has played in areas of social protection, like health, education, mosque building and maintaining orphanages and homes for the needy in society (Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakaria, 2010 ; Shahir, Zuki & Affah, 2013). Waqf has remained a key institution in the provision of general welfare services. Historical records abound to show that it has performed better than many current nation states in the area of social justice. According to Morrison (2016), the history of waqf shows prominent achievements that has serve the plight of the poor. Therefore, similar to previous epochs in the history of Islam, the proceeds obtained from Waqf can also benefit the society towards overcoming socio-economic relief in contemporary times. These include relief for the needy, those in poverty

circumstances, religious services, educational facilities, the promotion of scientific knowledge, elderly wellbeing, improvement of the environment and various other purposes. Generally, the purpose of a Waqf property determines its beneficiaries. These include categories of individuals that are underprivileged facing deprivation, the elderly, the sick, unsupported widows, orphans, travellers and others (Azizah, Badruddin, & Hidir, 2018). This is similar to the position of Abul & Shahid (2010). Other expenditures covered by Waqf proceeds are the salaries of the Imam and Islamic teachers and the up keep of the mosque.

Other studies have been more responsive on the need to revive waqf. As noted earlier, there have been increased attempts by Muslim scholars to reflect on the possibility of providing social welfare in Muslim societies. Such attempts, with special reference to Muslim countries in Africa, are based on the need to widen the possibilities of enabling states to provide the basic needs to their subjects. The main reason is the painful state of welfare services that has become evident in most developing African states. Another reason given for the upsurge in interest in Waqf revival is due to the emergence of Islamism and the critical position of clerics on the secular state. Such criticisms are currently prevalent throughout the Muslim World. Waqf remains an activity embedded in kindness, social justice, innovation, entrepreneurship and the philanthropic orientation of social development. Thus, Waqf has the ability to fill gaps and shocks within the socio-economic system (Jalil et al., 2015; Elgahani, 2018).

The need to revive Islamic Economics has been the broad concept under which the debate on Waqf revival thrives (Hadith, 2017; Mutalib et al., 2017; Weiss, 2002). Such need arises from the pressing issues of welfare deficiencies experienced in most

Muslim societies. (Cizakca, 2004; Shulthoni, Saad, & Kayadibi, 2018), opined that there is no reason why a new and modern responsive rule of waqf cannot emerge to confront the current situation within Islamic Jurisprudence, principles and modern management techniques. Other scholars opined that Waqf can interact with social capital in mutually dependent ways in which both social (waqf) and economic capital co-evolve through an interactive process. For example, Abd Jalil et al., (2016) suggests that a model of cash waqf can be applied to address contemporary issues of social significance in the society and proposes the establishment of a non-profit financial transitional method. In this method, interest-free loans are to be given out by banks to finance consumer lending for the poor. The source of the bank's capital would be derived from waqf. Similarly, earlier positions by Kahf, (2011) and Ahmed (2004) proposed a combination of Zakat, Waqf and Sadaqah towards the formation of microfinance institutions. In this model, it is suggested that the returns from waqif and funds obtained from Sadaqah can be used to finance productive social enterprise at subsidized rates. However, a more radical position is glaring in the position of. Khan, (2013), who postulated that capitalist instruments are not successful in reducing income inequality. In this case, Waqf can be one of the vital alternatives alongside Zakat, because Zakat and Waqf have played key roles in reducing poverty in Islam. Hence, the need to revive these institutions. Starting a worldwide Waqf movement has been seen as indispensable by Ahmad & Yakubu (2015), who see the need for a shift towards the utilization of the Waqf system to finance needed social services and education in sub-Saharan Africa. The authors maintained that this can be achieved by exploring historical and practical applications of the waqf in funding education across the continent. Such a model can also be extended to include support for the elderly as a response to population aging crises. Other models worthy of consideration for

eldercare are those for education found in some selected universities like Al-Azhar and number of Malaysian universities funded through the Waqf Institution.

Another relevant Islamic model that has the good potentials to be adopted by Muslim communities is referred to as the “Pondok System”, commonly found in the Malay world. A historical background to the concept can be traced to the Arabic word “funduk” or ‘Pondok Pesantren’. The ‘Pondok’ originated mainly as religious schools among Malay ethnic groups and is also found in many other countries, such as Indonesia referred to as Pesantren and is similar to “ashram” in Hindu or “viharas” for Buddhists, Pondok in Malaysia and Southern Thailand, “Madrasa” in India, Pakistan and Arab societies and Tsangaya in Hausa, northern Nigeria (Abidin, Maidin & Salleh, 2017; Zakaria et al., 2012 ; Babajo, 2017; Sagir, 2015 Yakubu & Aziz, 2017). The philosophy behind the Pondok system, according to Sufian & Mohamad (2013) is that of a social institution whose major role is the promotion of honesty, solidarity and self-control. The aim is that of deepening Qur’anic knowledge, particularly through the study of Arabic, Sunnah traditions, the sayings of the Prophet, Islamic Sharia and logic from the “Uluma” or teachers (Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakaria, 2010b). Importantly, Pondok communities are also compliant to the needs of the elderly, thereby enabling them to live in harmony. At the point joining a pondok, the burden of care to an elderly person no longer rests on the immediate family; instead, the Pondok community takes over care functions. The Pondok provides a place to seek religious knowledge and the needs of the elderly people. They may choose to build a hut called “musolla”, a mosque or classroom on their piece of land. These spaces are also used as Mosques and Islamic schools. The operators invite Muslims to pledge lands or property for waqif. In general, there are two types of Pondok retirement villages. The Malay “kampong”

found in rural areas throughout the peninsula and the eastern States and the Pondok spiritual community, which occurs in the northern States of Kedah, Perak, Kelantan and Trengganu. The first kind is donor-funded villages funded through charity. Under this type, Pondok residents also make donations. The second type is funded fully by residents through cash payments. This type is administered as self-care units or assisted apartments (Babajo, 2017; Sagir, 2015; Yakubu & Aziz, 2017).

Therefore, apart from serving as a Traditional Islamic Educational Institution, the Pondok has been developed to be a place to spend old age and seek for continual religious education, as well as a sociable and supportive environment after retirement. In this regard, the spiritual well-being of the retired elderly is the main goal. This is done if possible in harmony with cultural values. The choice of the Pondok environment might also be based on a location where the elderly live, so as to maintain a harmonious relationship with family members (Sufian & Mohamad, 2013).

Zakat, which means wealth purification, is the third pillar of Islam. Payment is mandatory for all Muslims, who possess the required financial resources to fulfil this obligation. Zakat can also be offered in cash or in kind, depending on the category of zakat being observed. According to Htay, Salman, Myint, & Ilyas, (2014), its fundamental goal is to attain socio-economic justice. This is intended to accomplish positive effects on a range of aspects, including poverty reduction and economic development (Wahab & Rahim, 2011). As a social institution, Zakat is the cornerstone of the Islamic social welfare system (Betancourt et al., 2014; Htay, Salman, Myint & Ilyas, 2014). The wealth accrued from Zakat is spent for specifically classified beneficiaries listed into eight categories: 1). al-Fuqara' (the poor), 2). al-Masakin (the

needy), 3). al-Amilin (those who collect zakat), 4). al-Muallafah qulubuhum (those whose hearts are being reconciled), 5). al-Riqab (emancipated of slaves), 6). al-Gharimin (people in debt), 7). Fi-sabillah (in the cause of Allah) and 8). Ibn-al-Sabil (travellers) (Hassan & Nasir, 2016). Importantly, knowledge is emerging similar to the advocacy and position of this study. The eighth category of Zakat recipients or travellers is being reworked in response to a growing refugee population in Egypt (Atia, 2011). Again, recently in Egypt, contributions to the building of the new Egyptian Children's Cancer Hospital qualified as a Zakat recipient. Further, since 2005, the Ulama at the International Consultation on Islam and HIV/AIDS approved the use of funds from Zakat for HIV-positive people in need, regardless of their religion or how they contracted the virus. Therefore, there is at least some interest amongst the Ulama towards expanding the net of activities covered by Zakat. As appealed by the UNCHR, Zakat can also be used to support emerging problems like refugees and displaced people and prisoners and help to relieve debt from overburdened microfinance recipients (Atia, 2011). In this regard, this study sees the need to include the elderly.

Most of the literature on Zakat is highly optimistic about its potentials in combating the problems of social justice prevailing in Muslims societies. Islamic economists believe that the society could be relieved of abject poverty and gross inequality if the systems of Zakat and Ushr are enforced in letter and spirit. Unfortunately, despite this potential, Muslim societies have generally ignored both the collection and the appropriate distribution of Zakat & Ushr (Abdullah & Saad, 2014; Al Haq & Farooq, 2017; Shirazi & Yasin, 2012). There seems to be a consensus among scholars that, with adequate collection and mobilization of Zakat, poverty can be eradicated in

Muslim countries in a sustainable manner. However, to achieve this objective, some have argued that there may be the need to change the capitalist model of development in Muslim countries to a more Islamically oriented human resource-based strategy. Therefore, welfare in Islamic societies should be based on a model where Zakat and Waqf will be indispensable components of the human-based development system. In addition, Zakat should be upheld as a right for its recipients. The ultimate aim of the welfare system should be to ensure the proper distribution and circulation of wealth to keep the Ummah from deterioration (Dean & Khan, 1997; Obaidullah & Manap, 2017).

The concept of Sadaqah is generally the sincere giving of charity only to the underprivileged and the deprived without expecting any recompense. It can take many different forms, material and non-material. The main difference between Zakat and Sadaqah is that Zakat is obligatory while Sadaqah is voluntary charity. It has many of the same purposes as Zakat. The main objectives are social solidarity, social cohesion and the strengthening unity and brotherhood among Muslims (Atia, 2011; Mittermaier, 2014). Since Sadaqah is much more general and open, it can be utilized as a means of reviving volunteerism, especially among pious youth. It can be a popular way of articulating one's piety and voluntary charity amongst the middle and upper classes to the socially disadvantaged. In this regard, much can be mobilized from it towards the needy elderly in society who lack basic needs.

Recent studies (Mumtaz & Whiteford, 2017; ShuHong & Ranjha, 2017) have noted that, in contrast to Zakat, the Bait-ul-Mal can be applicable to all categories regardless social background. It can manage funds under different programs. The range of

programs managed by it includes Food Support and Income Allowance for the poor. There is also special assistance to needy individuals having no source of support or income. This includes individuals with major ailments/disability, widows with dependent children, invalids with dependent children, infirm elderly, the poorest of the poor, rehabilitation, orphans, the destitute and the victims of unpredictable circumstances.

Mobilizing attitude change towards a more effective eldercare by the progeny is critical to coping with the challenges of population aging. This level of care should be mobilized based on the moral emphasis placed by Islam on meeting the various needs of elderly parents. Bensaid (2014) noted that in Islam the responsibility for eldercare lies on children. Furthermore, Islamic values stand firmly against the neglect, abuse or harm of parents. This manifests in the way Islamic teaching prescribes un-dutifulness to one's parents as a major sin and implies parental satisfaction as an indicator for divine satisfaction. Therefore, the need to behave well with the elderly, especially not being rude to them, according them the highest respect and offering all the forms of assistance they require, are highly emphasized in Islam. In this vein, the position of the mother has been given priority over that of the father in terms of receiving respect and service from children. Her high status in Islam is best exemplified by the fact that a prophetic injunction metaphorically points to the existence of a child's paradise at her feet. Similarly, importance has also been attached to the rights of relatives through the bond of kinship.

As noted by Abdullah (2016), Islam acknowledges the role of the family in the promotion of the well-being of older adults. In most Muslim communities, from birth

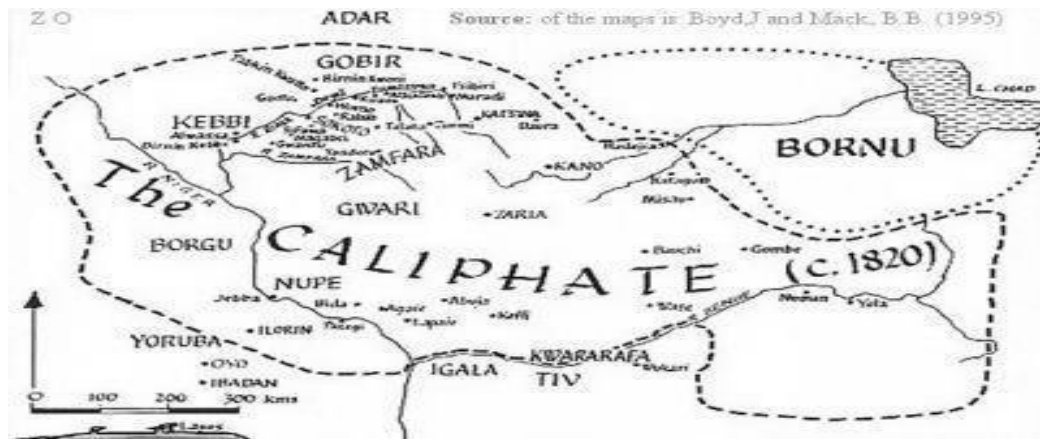
to marriage and into old age, a vital family support network is expected to surround the Muslim throughout life. In most situations, elderly parents live with their children, reflecting the Islamic understanding that it is an obligation on the part of children to take care of their parents. The transmission and extension of this generosity and care in Islam extends into the support of even distant elderly relatives and kin. This is based on the prophetic tradition, which teaches Muslims to support both one's immediate family and relatives by upholding family kinship ties (Abbas, Plummer, Anthony & Clerehan, 2014). In addition, Muslims are enjoined to treat relatives with kindness, so as to have good sustenance and a prolonged life (Bensaid and Grine, 2014). Extended families can therefore be effective in serving as sources of eldercare and support. Bengtson & DeLiema (2016) corroborated the position of Bensaid and Grine (2014) that Islamic practices also promote active aging to avoid isolation and keep the elderly socially active. The elderly are regarded with respect and dignity and are the first to be involved in matters of arbitration, while also leading serious consultations in the community as well as heading notable social functions and celebrations. These include weddings, visits and funerals and at times filling the role of wise individuals. In addition, they solve problems and prevent crisis. Keeping the elderly in activity has enormous benefits in coping with old age, as against social disengagement and isolation.

From the above literature reviewed, a significant number of studies on Islamic values of welfare and social justice are mostly done from a conservative perspective (N. Abdullah & Saad, 2014; Al Haq & Farooq, 2017; Bensaid, 2014b; Meriam Syed Akil & Abdullah, 2014; Shirazi & Yasin, 2012), despite the highly optimistic position of scholars about the potentials of Zakat in combating problems of social justice. This

tends to weaken the argument for reforming Islamic values into more responsive structures towards contemporary issues of welfare. Other studies (Abd Jalil et al., 2016; Hussain & Khali, 2014; Mawdudi, 1948; Rahman & Yakubu, 2017; Man Zakaria & Salihu, 2011) on Islamic social capital have noted the gap in knowledge by previous studies and focused on the role of Waqif, Zakat and Sadaqah for the support of disadvantaged members and the promotion of general good in the society. However, the Islamic literature on social justice generally has not drawn the desired attention on the needs of the elderly population with the exception of studies from Malaysia (Zakaria, Samad & Shafii, 2013; Mohammad Zakaria, Azrah, Samad, Rose & Shafii, 2012) and a few more (Kahf, 2011; Mohamad Suhaimi, Ab Rahman & Marican, 2014;), indicating a radical departure towards the need for social protection, proposing various models of social capital for social justice in Muslim countries

2.11 Jeedo Practice and the Development of Islam in Bauchi Emirate.

Bauchi Emirate is the setting for this research, where Jeedo and its leader can be found. The Emirate lies within coordinates 10°18'57"N 09°50'39"E among Hausa states. The city is the seat of the Emirate, where the Emir and his palace are situated (Bauchi information Guide, 2017) and has a population of about 3.2 million people and a peaceful atmosphere as well as economic opportunities in agriculture. Bauchi contains various ethnic groups, such as the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Gerawa, Jarawa, Sayawa, Bolawa and KareKare. Islam is the major religion whereas there are also Christians and followers of traditional religions (Kaigama, 2010).



Map 3. Map of Sokoto Caliphate

The establishment of Sokoto Caliphate during the 18th Century also extended into most of what is now northern Nigerian cities (Bukhari, 2011; Ibraheem A.K., 2004; Ogundiran, 2005; Sanni & Ahmed, 2015). Mallam Yakubu and Bello Zungur of the Bakal tribe were the main actors that promoted Islam in Bauchi. Malam Yakubu became the first Islamic ruler of Bauchi as the flag bearer for Shehu Usman dan Fodio. He was given strong religious and morale support; other flag bearers of the Shehu were the Emirates of Katagum, Jama'are and Misau within present Bauchi state. The Sokoto Caliphate transformed the socio-economic and political structures of the Hausa states. The model adopted by Usman bin Fodio was explicitly that of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and his Community. Fodio was very explicit in following the Prophet's example. He started a new epoch and led by example (Beek, 2012; Johnston, 1967). In addition to fostering the spirit of fellowship and mutual obligation in the *Jama'a*, there was the simultaneous development of a new social attitude. The teachings of Usman dan Fodio on the elderly was his advice to Muslims to honour them and show compassion to the young. The rights and obligations flowing from child-parent relationships constitute an important category in the Shehu's teachings. Thus, the child has the duty to obey his parents. These teaching are based on a number of prophetic traditions, as noted by Yakubu, Solahuddin & Abdulrahman (2017)

It is narrated in the *Sahih* on the authority of Abu Huraira (may Allah be pleased with him) that a person came to the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and grant him peace) and asked, *Who is most entitled to my best treatment? to which the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and grant him peace) replied, Your mother. The man asked, Who next? He replied, Your mother. The man asked, Who next? He replied, Your mother. He asked further, Who next? And the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and grant him peace) replied, Your father* (Yakubu et al., 2017:6).

The interpretation that affection shown to one's mother should exceed that to the father threefold is supported by what we see in real life, since the mother bears the burden of conception, the burden of childbirth and the burden of nursing.

Five duties, Bello wrote further, devolve on a responsible person in respect of his parents:

First, that he should not be arrogant towards them . . . ; two, that he should avoid rebuking them even when they confront him with what he dislikes; three, that he should address them in a pleasing, respectful manner . . . as a humble servant addresses his auspicious master; four, that he should show great affection to them for instance, he should neither raise his voice in their presence nor walk in front of them and he should do what they want, without of course disobeying the law, showing them love, compassion, reverence, and serving them in an excellent manners; five, that he should always pray for Allah's mercy on them; if they are Muslims, and offer *sadaqa* on their behalf after they are dead (Yakubu et al., 2017:9).

Bauchi Emirate as one of those carved out by the local Jihad delegated and controlled from the capital of Sokoto, established its own schools, wrote its own books and established its own Dar-al Islam. The Emirate by all means most sincerely ascribed to the supremacy of the Shehu and those who succeeded him. Loyalty to the Caliphate was absolute; there were regular levies on wealth and slaves that had to go to Sokoto

(Beek, 2012). Since each Emirate maintained its internal administration structure, there is the need to know if the Jeedo practice also relates to the origin of Islamic teaching in Bauchi as a peculiar arrangement for the care to elderly women during or after the jihad. The reason is that the meaning attached to the practice will add to our understanding of its relevance as a practice that claims to be in existence for over two centuries. In addition, evidence from the literature of similar practices indicates that most of these methods are relevant in social protection, because of the historical origin and the meaning constructed around the practice.



Map 4Map of Bauchi

2.12 Summary of literature review

Numerous studies view old age, aging and the elderly as cultural constructs, implying the need to consider the social context in defining old age and the elderly. However, absence in these studies is a clear demonstration of how the socially constructed meaning of old age influences eldercare strategies within a given society. Importantly, studies seeking solutions to the needs of the elderly should be context-specific in line with the constructed meaning of old age within a given society. Studies on the impact of population aging have noted implications like rising wellbeing care costs and increase in the demand for formal and informal wellbeing care needs as the

consequences of population aging common across all societies. Importantly, a number of studies show a significant percentage of the population and their families lacking access to comprehensive formal social protection in developing countries. A common theme in these studies suggests numerous challenges faced by governments in the provision of formal social protection in developing countries. Yet, a few of the studies have called for solutions within informal social protection, leaving a gap in the literature. Overall, the literature on informal social protection strategies of elderly care in some societies indicated that some methods tend to be more effective than others due to the meaning of old age and the motive behind each method, which in turn influences the nature and dimension of care extended to the elderly. It is clear that some of the methods rely on mutual exchange. Other methods are network-oriented. Yet, others are deeply rooted in the role of individual activity and friendship. Importantly, some are more responsive approaches to population aging. An important aspect of most of the studies reviewed for the present study lies in the recommendations made in response to population aging. Thus, despite the valid arguments related to the failure and limitations in state-led social protection, a few studies have focused on the need to strengthen informal social protection as recommendations.

Generally, the informal methods reviewed suggest the abundance of social capital potentials that need to be mobilized for various purposes. Interestingly, evidence from recent literature shows that the Hxaro and Zunde have been proposed for other purposes like teaching and learning and as methods of resilience for women during disasters in Zimbabwe. However, there is no evidence for a complete model proposed for eldercare. This also implies a gap in the literature that needs to be addressed.

From the reviewed literature on social protection and eldercare in Nigeria, it is clear that the changes affecting eldercare arise from the impact of changes in socially constructed meaning of old age across Nigerian societies. Some studies explained how this change has impacted on the family institution; others explain how elder support networks have been weakened; yet, others view the problems of elderly care from an economic perspective. A few emerging studies have cautioned on the negative impact of new religious values on eldercare. Consequently, it seems that generally in Nigeria old people are less able to rely on traditional care systems, which are rapidly waning. Another problem exposed by the studies reviewed is the increasing individualism leading to the abandonment of filial obligation and community norms of eldercare. However, there is a dearth of studies that clearly demonstrate how solutions can be proposed from non-state institutions as recommended by previous related studies. To the best of my knowledge, there is no study in Nigeria that is oriented towards seeking for practical solutions of the immediate benefits for eldercare through PRA. Studies on practices across the globe provides sufficient evidence that informal methods of social protection possess social capital prospects that can be strengthened to serve as an alternative coping strategy for the teeming population of elderly persons. There is therefore the need for a renewed focus on studying the values that would have permanent validity in addressing vulnerability among elderly Nigerians. Strengthening kinship-based coping strategies in addition to religious values could be easier and more effective due to historical importance and meaning. Thus, a renewed focus on studying informal social protection has become necessarily to address the factors that have persistently exposed the elderly to vulnerable circumstances across Nigeria.

Most of the literature on religion within the discipline of sociology tends to focus on Christianity (Garrod & Jones, 2009; Turner, 2010). By such ethnocentric interpretation of religion dominated by American perspectives, Sociology lacks a sound basis for more comparative analysis of other religions. In order to contribute to the growing body of gerontological literature towards a balanced sociological analysis of the influence of religion and spirituality on eldercare, there is a need to involve other religious teachings and practices in understanding how religion and spirituality extends to elderly care. Similarly, with a few exceptions in Nigeria, there is no study yet to confirm the role of religion and spirituality among the people. More importantly, no study is evident on the dimension covered in later life and care within a religious group context. Studies on Islamic values of welfare and social justice are mostly done from a conservative perspective. Similarly, most literature on Islamic social welfare is highly optimistic about the potentials of Zakat in combating problems of social justice prevailing in Muslims societies. Yet, other studies on Islamic social capital have noted the role of Waqif and Zakat and Sadaqah for the support of disadvantaged members and the promotion of general good in the society. However recent literature indicates a radical departure based on a growing consensus among a significant number of contemporary scholars of Islam. Such departure includes the need to rework beneficiaries of Islamic practices and institutions to cover more contemporary areas of social protection and proposing various models of social capital.

Generally, Islamic literature on social protection has drawn less attention on the need to mobilize the abundant social capital inherent in Islamic values for eldercare except for studies from Malaysia. There is therefore the need for studies to be intensified to demonstrate how mobilizing social capital in Muslim communities can be made

towards the challenges of aging. Finally, no study exists to the best of knowledge on the Jeedo practice in Bauchi.

2.13 Gaps in the Literature

From the evidence in the existing literature, it is imperative to note important areas that are relevant to the present study. These includes a). recommendations by previous studies towards a focus on informal social protection methods, b). a narrow focus on the solutions to the needs of the elderly by studies in Nigeria, whose arguments have been restricted to the formal social protection and institutionalization of the elderly, d). a dearth of studies using the participatory approach on later life on the Nigerian elderly. An important issue to note while addressing the literature gap in a participatory research is that, based on the established principles of PRA, the actual issues to be addressed are obtained in the field during the participatory encounter. Therefore, the literature gap points to the major issues that provide an edge for conducting the participatory study.

Numerous studies on the implications and challenges of population aging suggest that several challenges are faced by governments in the provision of formal social protection across many developing countries (Animasahun, 2017; World Wellbeing Organization, 2015 ; ILO, 2010/11; Mohanty: 2011; Moulaert & Paris, 2013; Newman, 2014). Importantly, a few studies have called for solutions within informal social protection (Mohanty, 2011; Mpedi, 2008; Mydin & Ahmad, 2014; Nanau, 2011; Norton, n.d.; Ratuva, 2016; Sufian & Mohamad, 2013; United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) & and HelpAge International, 2015). Therefore, based on the need to address this gap in a developing country like Nigeria, this study intends to add to the

literature in this regard by conducting a study on Jeedo practice as an informal method of social protection.

Several studies suggest that solutions to the needs of the elderly should be context-specific and in line with the constructed meaning of old age within a given society (Little, Vyain, & Scaramuzzo, 2012; NPC & ICF, 2013; Irish, 2014; Humboldt, 2016; Shofoyeke & Amosun, 2014 ; Bensaid & Grine, 2014). Thus, in line with similar practices reviewed, the relevance of most elder care practices derived from the historically constructed meaning around such practices. In relation to the Jeedo practice as the focus of this study, an exploration of how the practice originated might shed light on how meaning and context explain old-age and determine eldercare. Thus, how meaningful and relevant Jeedo is to eldercare practice in the history of Bauchi Emirate?

Previous studies on the challenges of informal eldercare strategies indicate that in Nigeria in recent times, old people are less able to rely on traditional care systems due to various problems, which have rendered the methods less efficient in offering various dimensions of care and in some cases are even detrimental to the elderly (Babatunji et al., 2015; Okoye, 2012; Funmi Togonu-Bickersteth & Akinyemi, 2013; Wahab & Adedokun, 2012) ; Menec, V., Bell, S., Novek, S., Minnigaleeva, G. A., Morales, E., Ouma, T., ... & Winterton, R. 2015 ; North, M. S. & Fiske, S. T. 2015 ; Amaike (2014), William , 2017 ; Amaike , 2014 and Stanley, M., Richard, A., & Williams, S., 2017, .Nyanguru , 2013; Eboiyehi, 2015 and Scholastica, 2018). However, these studies seem to be narrowly focused by failing to provide a deeper analysis on the dimensions of care actually and potentially available within informal social protection.

Consequently, most recommendations tend to insist only on state-led formal solutions. There is therefore less attention on details of eldercare provided by informal social protection from studies in Nigeria. Thus, there is a gap in the literature. This study seeks to contribute towards addressing this gap by asking what dimensions of eldercare obtain through participation in Jeedo practice as an informal social protection method?. Previous studies on informal social protection strategies generally offered insight into the justification for recommending informal social protection in response to issues of old-age care arising from the increased number of the elderly population (Nanau, 2011; Mohanty, 2011; Hobbs & Jackson, 2016; Biesele and Howell, 1981; Ramacake, 2010). Importantly, most of these studies were not specifically conducted to provide a deeper analysis on the challenges and prospects of care for the elderly in relation to the methods. However, since the present study on Jeedo is based on the participatory approach, its specific contribution, the dimensions of care and the challenges and prospects were identified in the field. Thus, the present study attempted a deeper and more detailed understanding of the dimensions of care available in Jeedo practice as an informal method of social protection. Specifically, the study asks what the challenges and prospects of the Jeedo practice are that can be translated into a more inclusive safety net for elderly?.

From studies on informal practices across the globe, there is sufficient evidence for informal methods of social protection to be strengthened as alternative coping strategies in eldercare. However, despite various issues militating against the effectiveness of these methods being identified, yet few studies attempted to provide practical and solutions to these challenges. This study also intends to contribute to this profile by providing a practical demonstration of how informal social protection can

offer real-world and abrupt solutions to eldercare in Nigeria. To this end, there is a clear need to study the Jeedo by examining the challenges in relation to the available prospects within the existing model. Therefore, for this study it was assumed that analysing the challenges and prospects of the Jeedo practice might reveal the prospects to be translated into a more inclusive safety net model. Specifically, the study sought to answer the question, what are challenges and prospects of Jeedo practice that can be identified using the participatory research approach to propose the transformation of the prospects for greater capacity as a wider more inclusive safety net?

2.14 Theoretical Framework

2.14.1 Introduction

This section presents the theoretical framework adopted by the study. In line with Creswell (2014), the framework became a perspective that shaped the types of questions asked and informed how data were collected and analysed. Therefore, it enabled the understanding of the theories and concepts adopted in relation to the Jeedo practice. A thorough analysis of the practice in relation to the adopted theories revealed the potentialities of Jeedo in serving as a wider safety net for the elderly. The framework derives from a review of relevant classical conceptualizations of social capital (Betancourt et al., 2014; Lin, 2017; Dobos, 2017; Keeley & Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development., 2007; Putnam, 2001a; Woolcock, 1998) and the Islamic economic perspectives of social capital (Dean & Khan, 1997; Hussain & Khali, 2014; M. Khan, 2007; Meriam, Akil, & Abdullah, 2014; Zakariya, 2011). These perspectives were integrated with the relational approaches of social support (Dong, Beck & Simon, 2010; Melchiorre, Chiatti & Lamura, 2013). Further, a conceptual framework was developed for linking social capital, and social support

towards a clear conception of an informal safety net (Cai, Giles, O'Keefe & Wang, 2012; Cherrier, Del Ninno & Razmara, 2011; McGarry, n.d.; Mumtaz & Whiteford, 2017; Palacios & Rajan, 2004; Ratuva, 2006). The framework focuses on the role of social capital and social support theories in the understanding of informal safety nets. The analysis maintained that through attitudes and practices like social facilitation, collective action and social investment of proceeds from religious gatherings, an improvement in the wellbeing of the elderly might be feasible. The proposed framework further facilitated the critical engagement with the pathways through which social capital processes and interactions influence the availability of safety nets for the elderly within the context of religious environments.

2.14.2 Social Capital

Social capital refers to goodwill, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit (Betancourt et al., 2014; Keeley, 2007; Scrivens & Smith, 2013; Woolcock, 1998) and also to resources and forms of support that can be accessed through genuine relationships (Stanton-Salazar, 2016). The formation of social capital can be understood through its basic indicators in form of trust, reciprocity, networking and volunteerism. Each of these aspects of social capital is produced through various dimensions within a community. Social capital is a source of coping that protects individuals as members of networks from the negative effects of social alienation and isolation (Barik, Agrawal & Desai, 2015; Kawachi & Berkman, 2001).

Religious capital consists of the extent of the mastery of a religion and attachment to specific religious culture and involves both the skills and knowledge required for

integration into a religious community. Furthermore, emotional attachment to a religious community creates the possibility of lifelong loyalty of members. Therefore, religious social capital can be seen as those social resources available to individuals and groups by virtue of their social connections with the religious community. These resources, among others, are shared *values*, trust and loyal adherence to the religious hierarchy Kornienko, Agadjanian, Menjívar, & Zotova, (2018) and Lechner,(2017). argues that generally social capital is considered a coping resource and a sort of social endowment that people can draw from to handle stress. It has also been noted that it improves the functioning of society through the availability of mutual assistance to individuals (Putnam, 2001a; Scrivens & Smith, 2013). Importantly, social capital reduces difficulties and barriers by making life easier and more predictable in daily situations. It makes life easier through the actions and behaviours of friends, families, colleagues and acquaintances, who provide moral backing and behavioural outcomes that lead to an individual's feeling of warmth, trusted and positive social interactions (Brown, 2018).

However, previous positions, for example, on mobilizing Islamic social capital for social justice have placed much less emphasis on how the transformation of social capital into outcomes occurs. Of relevance to this work is how social capital can be mobilized into outcomes that can serve as a safety net for elderly adults. Such responses have become necessary due to the challenges posed by population aging in relation to elderly wellbeing (Dijkstra, Kipping & Mézière, 2015; Hassan et al., 2016; Htay et al., 2014; Saad & Abdullah, 2014; A. Zakaria et al., 2012).

2.15 The Investment Potential of Social Capital

Social capital as a concept has a lot of potential that can be invested and organized to cope with both cognitive and tangible difficulties in the life course. Individuals can resort to it to achieve collective goals that they cannot reach alone. Through social networks, diverse energies can meet to pursue goals with vigour and diligence. Also, through networks ideas spread easily and fast, making it possible for information about sources of support and help to be easily shared (Wright, 2018; Yip, 2011). Social capital may not run alongside economic capital, but it is much similar in nature. The potential for investing it was captured from the three characteristics mentioned by Coleman (1988), namely convertibility, reciprocity and community. According to Putnam, (2001a), social capital models can be applied on a wider scale by a focus on public welfare in relation to an individual action (Putnam, 2016). Islamic economists have opined that the Waqaf can interact with social capital in mutually dependent ways, where both social (waqf) and economic capital co-evolve through an interactive process. The proposed interaction of Awqaf institutions as important welfare providers is based on the effective role that the Waqif has played in areas of social protection like health, education, mosque building and maintaining orphanages and the homes for the needy in society (Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakaria, 2010a; J. A. Khan & Ahmed, 2013). Similarly, most literature on “Zakat” is highly optimistic about its potentials in combating the problems of social justice prevailing in Muslims societies. Cizacka (2004) suggests that a model of cash waqf can be applied to address contemporary issues of social significance in the society. Ahmed (2004) proposes a combination of Zakah, Waqaf, and Sadaqat towards the formation of microfinance institutions. In this model, it is suggested that the returns from Awqaf and funds obtained from Sadiq can

be used to finance productive social enterprises at subsidized rates (Ahmed, 2004; Kahf, 2003).

2.16 Social Support

The relational view of social support explains the satisfaction of needs as justified within a given context based on socially constructed 'self' in relation to others. Thus, eventually when the need arises such relationships are utilized for the satisfaction of needs (Usta 2012; Lin 2013). The relational perspective can be summed up as a view of social support which refers to the resources made available instrumentally through social transactions to assist individuals to cope with everyday life by others. The aim is to deal with contingencies especially in response to critical situations, leading a person to believe that there is care and love for him or her as part of a social group (Hobfoll, 2011; Melchiorre et al., 2013). In addition, the framework considers social support offered based within the right context and meaning to be more acceptable and effective to wellbeing.

2.17 The Potential of Relational Social Support

The relevance of the relational perspective to the aging crises and elderly wellbeing lies in the potential it offers through both phenomenological and interpretive epistemologies. It also includes and implies protocols that can allow for a subjective analysis of support in relation to various informal eldercare systems. Since social support can be analysed as a socially constructed activity, intervention in eldercare systems can be approached through specific processes of interactions within communities. These might include the transformation and mobilization of positive attitudes into supportive outcomes based on the understanding of the needs of the

elderly and acting in ways that can be interpreted as supportive. Melchiorre et al. (2013) highlighted that multiple connections exist between social support and various dimensions in later life and may serve as a key source of personal care and well-being with a strong impact on older individuals experiencing health problems . A significant body of the literature identifies four types of social support of relevance to eldercare. These are: emotional social support, companionship support, instrumental support and Informational social support (Dong et al., 2010; Krause, 2016; Melchiorre et al., 2013). Within the categories of social support, of relevance to the elderly also are categories of social support based on a common distinction between the perceived, available and actual support received. In perceived support, anticipating help in time of need and receiving actual help provided within a given time can be highly regarded and provides a context for the elderly to experience relative comfort and psychological wellbeing (Neal Krause & Hayward, 2012). Perceived support is a crucial resource when stress is experienced. On the other hand, Murayama Liang, Krause & Bennett (2013) explain received support as the amount of tangible help provided by a social network. It is also called enacted support, referring to specific supportive actions like advice or reassurance offered during times of need. Received support applies to the elderly, as making available tangible items, which can be crucial resources to their survival, such as food items, clothing shelter and cash.

Despite the positive outcomes associated with social support, an insignificant body of literature suggests that social support can also be negative, especially when such support is accompanied by a set of behaviours, like conflict and strain, unfriendly communications and inappropriate basis of exchange, that tends to be negative during the social support interaction (Turan, E Çelik, ME & Turan, 2014). Similarly, social

support can be negative when offered or through behaviours that represent rudeness, snobbishness, criticism and other forms of irritating actions like blame. Therefore, the efficacy of social support is also dependent on the nature of interaction and how the receiver perceives the supportive behaviour.

2.18 Social Support and the delivery of Social Capital as a Safety net

Social support as body of knowledge is full of perspectives that account for the delivery of social capital. There is therefore the need to acknowledge that the relational social support theory compliments social capital. For example, while in social capital theories, religion provides the framework and platform for social capital formation (Putnam, 2001), the specific channelling of social capital into positive or negative outcomes depends on how it is offered via attitudes and specified relationships. This also applies to the quality of assistance and the impact it has, especially on the receiver. As such, conceiving social support and social capital as different aspects of the social process may lead to a poor comprehension of the existing relations between the two concepts. Both are best understood as aspects of social life rather than separate variables (Stanton-Salazar, 2016). Therefore, a conceptual separation of the two theories might hinder the appropriate development of theoretical contributions on how best the delivery of specific outcomes that can serve as safety nets.

2.19 Informal Safety nets

Literally, the term “safety net” alludes to the protection given to a hire-wire walker protected by a net below in case they fall down accidentally. Numerous studies have indicated that, without a safety net, coping with shocks generated by differences of socioeconomic processes on the poor and vulnerable families will be impossible. The

reason is that safety nets function in preventing vulnerability among groups by preventing them from drifting towards poverty arising from shocks like natural disasters or an economic downturn (Daidone, Pellerano, Handa & Davis, 2015; Palacios & Rajan, 2004; World Bank, 1994). The safety net has been regarded as an important instrument in reducing poverty among vulnerable segments of the population in developing countries (Coady, 2016). Safety nets exist in two categories of the formal and the informal. This classification depends on whether a particular safety net has a statutory backing and is administered legally. An informal safety net also guarantees a supportive framework and access to resources but has no legal mandate. Informal Social Safety Nets include support by household members, associates, friends, community neighbours and community institutions and NGOs (Barkat, Gupta, Hussain, & Rahman, 2013). Thus, informal safety nets as a subset of coping strategies have always been the result of assistance drawn from families, persons and associations when there is a situation of need or hardship. They can be understood within the informal class of Social Safety Nets. Examples include mitigation strategies that assist in reducing the possible impact of future risks on individuals. Therefore, informal safety nets arise from values and norms of showing solidarity and supportive attitudes among group members (Devereux, 2015). Furthermore, informal safety nets may be provided by way of participation in local mutual assistance associations like credit rotating schemes or micro-finance groups. Through these channels, the provision of social insurance and loan of varied types are obtained as safety nets.

Relationships are also prominent features of informal safety nets, which are made available in most cases through the structural set-up of social networks. This is

obtained in most extended families and community associations. Within the family, the close connections shared among members results in mutual obligations for giving and receiving support in different forms at times of need. Social Safety Nets also exist in community networks based on a social interaction of persons within a geographical location in addition to other ties. Inclusive are friends, neighbours and community associations (Perry, 2015; Wiersma, 2016). Therefore, the delivery of informal safety nets through relationships can be furthered by this framework. However, despite their relevance, some are predatory, exploitative, fluid and full of negative aspects. There is also the critique on creating people's over-dependence on social assistance instead of tackling the structural causes of poverty or creating safety nets that have extensive coverage and wider sustainability.

2.20 Links

Putnam (2001) postulated that the most important single source of social capital is religious belief. Therefore, while religion provides the platform for social capital formation, social support serves as an avenue for the investment of social capital. The reason being that the link between social capital and social support (Saegert & Carpiano, 2017) is that of social capital serving as a conceptual tool for understanding the social fabric at the heart of the community. Such conception explains how everyday interactions are situated in social relationships structured by group membership. These aspects, in turn, lead to particular identities and social positions, resulting in specific as well as individual outcomes derived from the collective resource (social support) of available social capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1985; Christens, 2012; J. Coleman, 1988; Paitoonpong et al., 2008). Similarly, the position of this work is that social support delivers social capital towards specific outcomes or directions, depending on the

dictates of the prevailing needs and social processes. As such, the outcome delivered by social support, through resources and attitudes, can result into social safety nets.

Finally, as a theory that is highly embedded in utilizing relationships, social support theory can be utilized to understand and develop supportive attitudes and concepts for the elderly. Religious social capital is a concept that has potential theoretical value that can enhance the understanding of an informal social safety net as a product of mobilizing and investing social capital. Further, the role of social support can be regarded as a key construct in the delivery of social capital within the context of the challenges posed by population aging in relation to elderly wellbeing. This conceptualization serves to reconnect potentialities in social capital, which remains only a potential unless delivered into specific outcomes and experiences that contribute to the wellbeing among the elderly as a safety net.

2.21 Model for the Study

Robson (2011) and Miles and Huberman (1994) defined a conceptual framework as a visual or written product that explains either graphically or in narrative form the main things to be studied, the key factors, concepts or variables and the presumed relationships among them (Snyder, 1961; Stanton-Salazar, 2016; S. Vaughan, Sanders, Crossley, O'Neill, & Wass, 2015). In line with the objective of this research, there is the need for a model that can capture the Jeedo as a more effective avenue for coping with old age. In this section, the relevance of the model was demonstrated so as to justify the need for its proposal. It was selected based on the nature of the north-eastern Nigerian culture made up of local traditions that have adapted to Islam since the establishment of the Caliphate in the 18th century. Social capital and social support

resulting into a social safety net are the components that made up the conceived model.

The conceptual framework is a tentative theory of Jeedo practice.

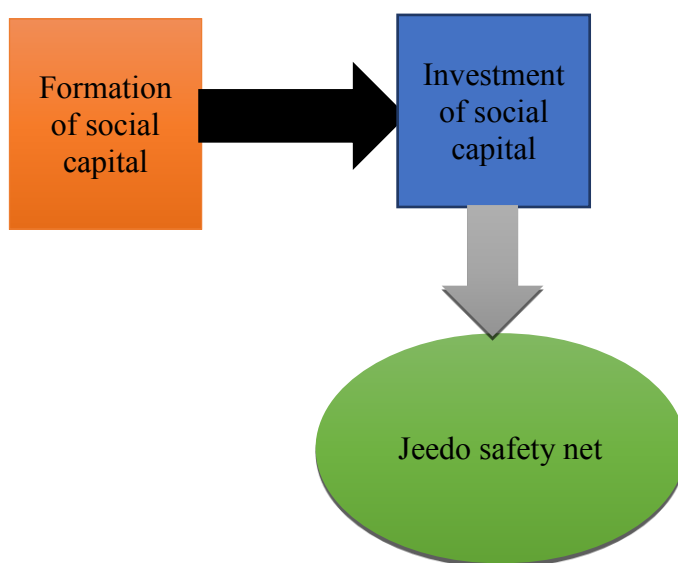


Figure 2 Model Direction

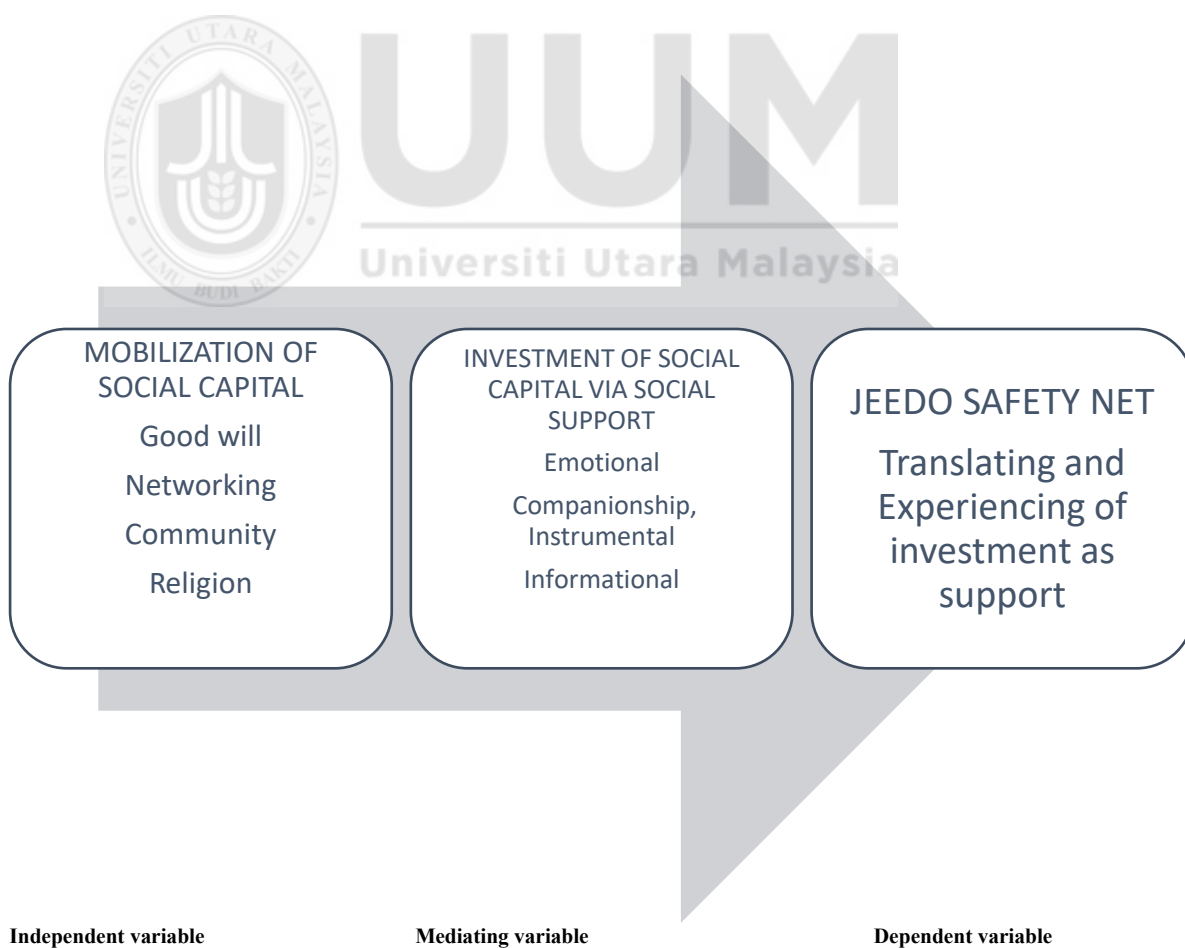


Figure 3. Relationship between variables

The Figure above shows that social capital is mobilized and invested in support that translates into Jeedo practice as a safety net.

2.22 Dependent variable

Jeedo practice is dependent on the availability of the tangible, psychological and spiritual resources available from the Emirate community through Jeedo structure. Increase in the number of Jeedo members without a corresponding increase of resources from social capital can weaken its capacity as a safety net. Therefore, the capacity and efficiency of Jeedo is dependent on the amount of social capital invested in the practice.

2.23 Mediating variable

The mediating variable lies intermediate between the sources of social capital (as independent causal factors) and the Jeedo safety net (as a final outcome). The quality of the safety net is mediated by the quality of the interaction between the structures of power and the Jeedo within the Emirate. Power and spiritual relations mediate between what is available from social capital through the Emirate council, the community and the Central Mosque for administration and availability to Jeedo members. Therefore, changes in the quality of relationships might affect the volume of investment and the overall capacity of Jeedo as a safety net.

2.24 Independent variables

Sources of social capital are independent from Jeedo practice but relate to it in a manner that shapes the quality and quantity of what is potentially available for investment in the practice. Therefore, it is expected that a change or adjustment in power relations, religious position or traditional norms can result to a change in the capacity and role of Jeedo practice.

2.25 The Role of the variables in the Model

a) Social capital: social capital in this work, is basically a combination of both classical and the religious social capital by Islamic economists. For example, in Islamic societies, potential social capital exists under the general concept of Islamic charity, good will, community engagements, Zakat, Waqif, Hiba and Sadaqah. It also includes funding and the availability of instrumental social support for the elderly and all such social capital arising from a social process within an Islamic society. The formation of religious social capital derives from the relevance of religion. For example, in north-eastern Nigeria, Islam is the basis of social action. This makes religion an important factor in understanding the social process. Furthermore, on the basis of religion, it is easier for both the formation and investment of social capital towards the creation of safety net for the aged.

b) Social support: This provide a connection between social capital and the provision of social safety nets. Social capital as potential capital can be invested in socially supportive institutions, attitudes and programs that can positively impact on the wellbeing of the elderly. For example, the mobilization of adequate resources from Zakat for elderly care to be persistently applied for the supply of basic needs of elderly adults can serve as a safety net.

c) Safety net: This is the end result accruing from social capital investment in supportive actions that will prevent the elderly from falling into variables identified as detrimental to their well-being. This safety net is dependent on the persistence of social support derived from religious social capital.

2.26 Conclusion

The chapter extensively reviewed the literature on population aging and its implications on eldercare. Several research articles and books relevant to the research topic were reviewed and the theoretical framework of the study was also presented.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section presents the methodology adopted by the study. Since no documented study exists on Jeedo practice, this research is exploratory in nature. Based on the research question and objectives that were addressed, a deeper understanding and change in Jeedo practice was sought for and achieved by using a participatory research design. The chapter also presents the research philosophy, participatory research, research design, methods, mode of participation and description of the participatory research phases.

3.2. Choosing the appropriate research paradigm

Before embarking on a research study, it is essential to consider what methodology to adopt. This consideration needs to be based on what the study seeks to achieve, that is, the reasons for the choice of focus and research population and how the researcher believes new knowledge and information about them might be best acquired.

3.3. Dominant Research Paradigms

Two major divergent views about the nature of knowledge usually seen as competing paradigms can be defined as the positivist paradigm – associated with quantitative research strategies – and the interpretive paradigm – associated with qualitative research strategies (Henn, Weinstein & Foard, 2005). These paradigms are rooted in

different ontologies – or sets of assumptions about what the world is – and epistemologies – or ways of knowing about that world, which reflect these assumptions. These assumptions in turn are reflected in the chosen methodology and specific methods to be used during the research (Henn et al., 2005). The positivist paradigm starts from the premise that knowledge is based on phenomena that are directly observable and, therefore, the social world should be researched using the principles of natural sciences. The data are then analysed to show causal links and generalizations through the statistical testing of a predetermined theory or in order to identify new one. In order to do this, it is important that the researcher remains detached from the respondents in order to achieve the objectivity of the data.

The interpretive paradigm premise is that knowledge is based on understanding interpretations and meanings that are not directly observable and suggests that the social world should be studied in its natural state to understand naturally occurring behaviour. Explanation of the data is achieved through descriptions of social meanings/ reasons and other dispositions to action. In this paradigm, theory is generated from the data. In order to achieve this, the researcher needs to take an insider approach by participating in the lives of participants and/or developing closeness, so that the data is constructed jointly and, therefore, ‘subjective’ in the sense that the participant’s (or subject’s) experiences and views are essential in drawing conclusions about the data. The analysis of data is based on verbal, action and situation description from which a theory is developed (Henn et al., 2005).

3.4. An Alternative Paradigm

Participatory research refers to an alternative paradigm on research methodology, which seeks to find ways of uncovering knowledge that work better in societies. It grew from the practice of working with oppressed people and led to the realization that the rise of specialization and professional expertise had led to the devaluation of both popular knowledge and alternative systems of knowledge production. Building on the premise that ‘knowledge is power’, the participatory research approach assisted socially marginalized people to critically investigate their reality, analyse it and then undertake collective action to bring about constructive changes in their lives. Participatory research rooted in Paulo Freire’s interpretivist epistemology is in direct opposition to the positivist paradigm. Freire insists that knowledge is not static but continually created and re-created as people reflect and act on the world. Knowledge, therefore, is not fixed permanently in the abstract properties of objects but is a process where gaining existing knowledge and producing new knowledge are “two moments in the same cycle” (Freire, 1982 ; Rocha, 2008). Further, knowledge does not exist apart from human consciousness; it is produced by us collectively searching and trying to make sense of our world. For Freire, as humans change, so does the knowledge they produce. But through constant searching and dialogue, we can continually refine our understanding in the sense that we can act more effectively. To Freire, action and the reflection upon it lead to new action rather than separate moments of knowing. Reflection, which is not ultimately accompanied by action to transform the world, is meaningless, alienating rhetoric. Action that is not critically analysed cannot sustain progressive change. Without reflection, people cannot learn from each other’s success and mistakes; particular activities need to be evaluated in relation to larger collective

goals. Only through praxis--reflection and action dialectically interacting to re-create reality—can people become subjects in control of organizing their society.

3.5. The Appropriate Paradigm for this Study

The fundamental purpose of this study is to explore the Jeedo practice as an alternative method of eldercare in response to the challenges of population aging based on previous studies recommendations. As evident in the literature review, eldercare in Nigeria appears to be caught in a complex web of exclusion and neglect from formal social protection, on one hand, and a disadvantage associated with weakness within informal social protection system, on the other. This situation makes it difficult for the elderly to obtain care according to their needs. Giving voice is therefore an extremely important aspect of the research. In addition, giving voice is complemented by a transformation of the Jeedo as a wider, more effective safety net for the elderly in general. The study therefore is fitted into the participatory research approach of Paulo Freire.

3.6. Participatory Research

Participatory research is an approach to community education that involves local people in defining and analysing their own problems and then acting to change them. While people have been doing this for thousands of years, this particular approach arose out of the efforts in East Africa in the 1970s when development workers realized that people learnt more, solved problems more efficiently and feel a greater sense of power when they actively participated in research and action projects - not passively, as in the traditional development model. Participatory research grew out of this goal, namely to make everybody researchers and development workers. Since that time,

participatory research has been used and the concept refined throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America and more recently in Europe and North America (Wicks, Reason, & Bradbury, 2008; Park & Kinsey, 1991). While the nature of these activities varies greatly from case to case, all share the same broad goals: to involve local (usually marginalized) people in the creation and analysis of their own knowledge and in the implementation of actions that they design to change their situation. In doing so, participatory research aims to empower people, improve the quality of their lives in some concrete way and work toward long-term structural change. Participatory research is a relatively new approach, which has gained increasing importance as a research strategy within qualitative research (Bergold & Thomas, 2012; Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). It has roots back to social science influenced by adult teaching and development programs, e.g. agriculture and community development. Many of the techniques applied in participatory research stem from Freire's work in education (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). Also, the fields of learning difficulties, disabilities and feminism research have contributed to the paradigm since the 1990s (Faulkner, 2004). Different participatory approaches exist in the disability field: praxis, critical, democratic, emancipatory, co-research and participatory research. Research in mental health has also long since incorporated participatory, user-controlled and user-led research (Dupuis et al., 2012; Richardson, 1997a).

Freirean-inspired participatory research differs from traditional action research. The reason, as noted by Brown & Tandon (1983) being that traditional action research tends to concentrate on an individual or group level analysis of problems, whereas participatory research, with its more emancipatory emphasis, tends to focus on a broader societal analysis. Further, traditional action research tends to emphasize issues

of efficiency and the improvement of practices whereas participatory research is concerned with equity, self-reliance and oppression problems. Again, it takes place within a force field of power relations in which conflicts of interest often create resistance to the research. Participatory researchers assume that they will be resisted from above (i.e., powerful vested interests), whereas traditional action researchers are often consultants who are hired by the powerful. Thus, it is possible to identify different research approaches with a participatory focus, such as participatory action research, community-based participatory research, participatory rural appraisal, participatory design and others (Chen et al., 2015; Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; DS Blumenthal, 2011; Ehde et al., 2013; Hanson et al., 2007; Stacciarini, Shattell, Coady & Wiens, 2011). Since there are many different ways in talking about participatory research (Schack Thoft, 2017; Diana Schack Thoft, Pyer, Horsbøl, & Parkes, 2018). it is therefore important for a researcher to define exactly how a study is characterised as participatory. Often the purpose of participatory research is described as to involve the active participation of all partners throughout all the stages of the research process – from research design to knowledge production, to dissemination, with the aim of changing the lives of people (Conder, Milner, & Mirfin-Veitch, 2011). From this perspective, the researcher has to maintain a close relationship with participants throughout the study, so that the personal stories and experiences are cast in their terms and meanings to gain an understanding of their mental constructions of situations and contexts (Hanson et al., 2007). It is anticipated that people are the best experts about the problems they face and to be involved encourages them to take action to speak out about the issues that concern them (Baldwin, 2012; Dewar, 2005; Fenge, Jones, & Read, 2010; Nind, 2014)..

What also can make it difficult to define participatory research is that it is not shaped by particular theories or methods, but by who defines the research problems and generates the analysis and represents, owns and acts on the information, which is sought (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). This means that an acknowledgment of power differentials and a willingness to share professional power are fundamental to establish participatory research (Schneiderbauer, 2007). This is a key difference from other research methodologies. If research is to be participatory in practice, openness, flexibility, sensitivity and responsiveness are required by the researcher. The need for flexibility is particularly needed when collaborating with elderly people (Tanner, 2012b), which means a researcher can experience difficulties in planning participatory research.

Research knowledge is practice-driven rather than theory-driven, contributing to an opposition to traditional academia, which may be sceptical of the generalisation and validity of participatory research given ideas around objectivity (Fenge et al., 2010). The fundamental questions to be asked around the process of knowledge creation from a participatory perspective are: who has the right to create knowledge? who controls the knowledge?, who should benefit from the research? and how is the knowledge used?. (Kara, 2018). These questions tend to indicate a shift from focusing on a professional perspective on research to opening up for collaboration and co-produced knowledge. Furthermore, it shows the need for broadening the way traditional academia defines valid research. The main difference between participatory research and conventional health research is often explained as most participatory research focuses on knowledge for action (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995), whereas conventional health research tends to generate knowledge for understanding, which may be

independent of its use in practice. Thus, it can be difficult to explain to the wider community, whereas participatory research is more accessible and relevant for society (Boote, 2011; Florin 2004 ; Cornwall, 1995 ; Boote 2002).

From an international societal perspective, there has been increasing pressure from policy makers, development managers and civil society groups to keep people at the centre of development initiatives. Therefore, research strategies which emphasise participation are gaining greater respectability and attention within research. It is recognised that participatory approaches are valuable in research challenging the marginalisation of the individual's knowledge in relation to the knowledge claims by professional academia (Clarke et al., 2018). Methodologies can be carried into eldercare research, enabling a responsive to local prioritization and commitment to change (Cornwall, 1995). Using Freire's approach to participatory research, issues of vital importance to community members are identified and used as a basis for studying, for example, Jeedo practice in this study and sensitization on issues of elderly care in a participatory collaborative fashion. In the present study, a dual purpose was achieved critically identifying the sources of problems and the prospects of the practice in relation to the quality of care possible. This was achieved through social critique and action on identified issues.

The following established principles of PRA were observed in the present study:

- Social processes and structures understood within a historical context;
- A vision of social events as contextualized by macro-level social forces;
- Theory and practice integrated;
- The subject-object relationship is transformed into a subject-subject relationship through dialogue
- The community and researcher together produce critical knowledge aimed at social transformation;

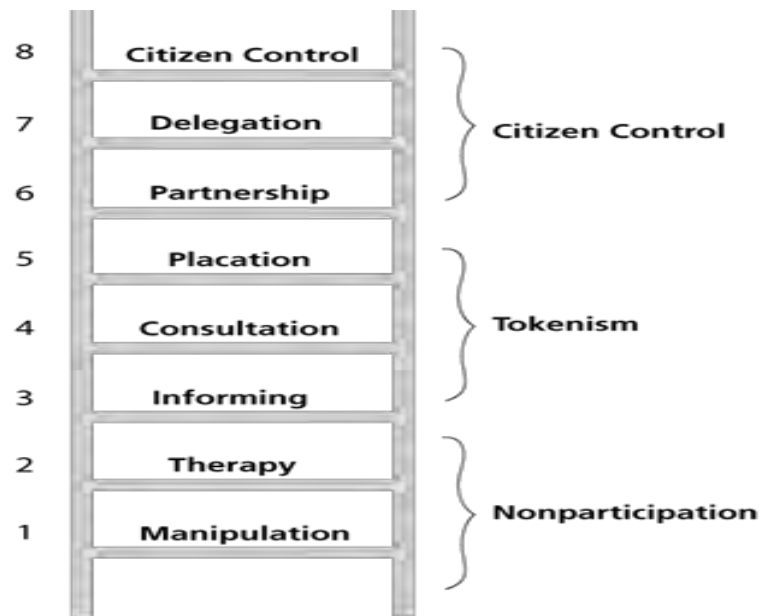
- The results of research are immediately applied to a concrete situation.

3.7. Models of Participation and PRA with the Jeedo

The initial conceptualization of the study was to explore Jeedo practice entirely through the use of participatory approach. However, for this research, it may be argued that to use an entirely participatory approach was neither possible nor indeed desirable. The reason being the understanding I had during the exploratory stages about the nature of Jeedo participants and Emirate historians, who had no prior literacy in western education or any experience in research. Since the need for the resolution to the dilemma of researcher control and group involvement in this study was discovered in the early stages, some amount of control and ownership of the project needed to be retained. Therefore, the balance between participation and researcher control was reviewed. To assist in determining the most suitable approach to participation, typologies of participation were considered.

Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation, also referred to as a yardstick for policy makers and practitioners promoting public involvement (Arnstein, 1969), has also been applied to give an overview of participation in research (Unger, 2012). Arnstein's model was developed in the late 1960s and looks at participation from the perspective of those at the receiving end (Cornwall 2008).

Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation



Arnstein's Ladder (1969)
Degrees of Citizen Participation

There are eight rungs of citizen participation (Arnstein 1969). Within these rungs, Therapy and Manipulation (rungs 1 and 2) are described as non-participative, because their focus is on education or the cure of participants. Informing, Consultation and Placation (rungs, 3, 4, 5) are considered degrees of tokenism, which allow the participants a voice, but not the power to secure their views, which are retained by power holders. The remaining rungs (6, 7 and 8) are Partnership, Delegated Power and Citizen Control, which are degrees of citizen power. Here participants negotiate and engage with traditional power holders. Within rung 7 and 8, they obtain the majority of decision-making, also named full marginalised power. The graduations of participation are illustrated in the figure. The ladder illustrates how the researcher still holds the power in some rungs of involvement even though it can be promoted as being participatory. As a researcher, I was aware of this risk when collaborating with the participants to ensure the collaboration did not become completely tokenistic.

Jules Pretty's typology of participation is another way to describe the different forms of participation (Cornwall 2008). He speaks more to the users of participatory approaches than Arnstein does.

1.	Manipulation
2.	Therapy
3.	Informing
4.	Consultation
5.	Placation
6.	Partnership
7.	Delegated power
8.	Citizen control

From the table, the typology is normative going from bad forms of participation to better forms. The bad forms are token representatives with no power and are Manipulative Participation and Passive Participation where the decisions are already taken. The better forms are different types of consultation with Functional Participation, which captures the form of participation that is most often associated with efficiency arguments. Another positive form of participation is Interactive Participation, which is described as a learning process through which local groups take control over decisions. The last is Self-mobilization where people take the initiative and retain control (Cornwall 2008).

A third well-known typology is proposed by Sarah White (1996), who offers insight into the different interests at stake in participation. It identifies conflicting ideas about why and how participation is being used (Cornwall 2008). It means that participation does not necessarily mean sharing power because incorporation can be the best way to control (Servaes, Jacobson, & White, 1996). Being involved in a process is therefore not equivalent to having a voice. If participation is to mean more than a façade of good intentions, it is vital to distinguish what the interests are. According to White, full

participatory participation is when participants take part in management and decision-making (Servaes et al., 1996).

Table : White's Interests in Participation

Table 1 Interests in participation			
Form	Top-Down	Bottom-Up	Function
Nominal	Legitimation	Inclusion	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency	Cost	Means
Representative	Sustainability	Leverage	Voice
Transformative	Empowerment	Empowerment	Means/End

(White, 1996)

The first column shows the form of participation, the next two the interests from the top down (the researcher) and the bottom up (the participants) and the final column characterises the function of each type of participation. Nominal Participation is for legitimization to display an inclusion of participants and Instrumental Participation serves the interests of outsiders while the participants' participation is seen as a cost. Its function is to achieve cost-effectiveness and local facility. Representative Participation allows people a voice, ensures sustainability and is an effective way to let them express their interests. Transformative Participation involves the participants in considering options, decisions and taking collaborative action to fight injustice. It is considered as empowering by transforming people's reality and their sense of it.

From the three models, it is clear that participants should have the same rights as the researcher when it comes to decision-making in PRA. Otherwise it cannot be participatory research (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). It is therefore important to be clear about what decisions the participants would make in the decision-making processes.

In the study, I planned that the participants participate in the historical learning in focus groups and accompanied interviews. As for the decisions, throughout the research process they had the power of decision-making for the schedule and rituals. However, I assumed that it was not possible for them to guide the research in relation to the theoretical framework and the research question. There is therefore the need for some level of control and tokenism in a constructive and ethical manner. To be faithful to the outlined methodological framework of the model described above, interactive participation was a relevant way to collaborate in the study. Both Arnstein's and Pretty's typologies describe a spectrum defined by a shift of control by authorities to control by people, which is important to be aware of when conducting participatory research (Cornwall, 2008). Further, since transformative participation involves the participants in considering options, decisions and taking collaborative action to fight injustice, it is considered as empowering by transforming people's reality and their sense of it (White 1996). It can therefore equally be seen as the best way to conduct participatory research (Cornwall 2008). In addition, the participants in the study formed a group that had not been engaged before in research collaborations. Therefore, I planned that the participatory research project between placation and partnership according to Arnstein's ladder between functional and interactive participation seen from Pretty's typology and between representation and transformation in relation to White. A full-scale participatory research project was not planned because I judged it too difficult due to the participants' lack of experiences with research.

3.8. Research Phases

Participatory research is viewed as involving several steps. These steps include:

- An objective of what the research wants to accomplish
- A planning and preparation phase
- Identification of participants.
- Building a trusting relationship
- Gathering and analysing data
- Collaboration with the participants.

This study was inspired by phases upon already well-establish knowledge about participatory research (Conder et al., 2011; Dupuis et al., 2012; Stacciarini, Shattell, Coady, & Wiens, 2011b), but there was the need to modify the phases into three to suit the participants in the Jeedo as the phases described above do not consider the challenges of a conservative society like the one in the Emirate.

3.9 Methods

The methods used in the study were well-established and qualitative, such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews and focus groups with the use of audio and video recordings. The methods were applied in different phases of the study and modified within the participatory framework to secure those suited to the participants(Stacciarini et al., 2011b).

3.10 Participation

The present study was planned between placation and partnership according to Arnstein's ladder between functional and interactive participation seen from Pretty's typology and between representation and transformation in relation to White. A full-scale participatory research project was not feasible because of the participant's lack of experience with research. To be faithful to the outlined methodological framework described above, interactive participation was a relevant way to collaborate in the

study. Both Arnstein's and Pretty's typologies describe a shift of control by the researcher to community stakeholders and Jeedo participants, which is important to be aware of when conducting participatory research (Cornwall 2008). Further, the participation was transformative involving the participants in considering options, decisions and taking collaborative action to curve marginalization. Thus, it is considered empowering by transforming people's reality and their sense of it (White 1996). Equally it can be seen as the best way to conduct participatory research with the participants (Cornwall 2008).

3.11 Participatory Listening and Observation

Participant observation was used in the study to shed light on the Jeedo participants' experiences of care in the practice. Listening and observation skills were the basis for attaining a comprehensive understanding of Jeedo practice. This enabled the view of social reality to be seen through the eyes of the participants. Participatory listening and observation enabled the researcher to assume the role of the participant observer and was immersed in the Jeedo practice for an extended period of time, observing behaviours in the practice, listening to what is said in conversations, both between other members and with the larger community, and asking questions. The aim remained to gain a close and intimate familiarity with the Jeedo through intensive involvement with members, the leadership and the community in Bauchi. Observations and conversations were written down in field notes as soon as possible since human memory can be deceptive. To develop critical knowledge, particular attention was given to power relationships between the Jeedo and the Emirate and among the Jeedo members what was observed and heard was often the starting point for semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions during which observations

were checked and clarified in interview questions to determine whether the researcher had accurately interpreted what he/she had seen and heard. The members of the Jeedo also had the opportunity to participate in the learning from various historical accounts by different interviewees.

Participant observation was used to collect data from the Jeedo in naturalist settings where the group carried out their tasks. The researcher both observed and took part in the sweeping activities, social work routines, Eid festival activities and major spiritual engagements to gain insight into the relations, behaviours, processes and activities of the participants (Burchett, 2014; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Meanings covered in sweeping mosques and graveyards exposed the group norms and provided a deep understanding of the needs, values and motives of behaviour (D Schack Thoft, 2017). In the study, observations gave me a first impression about the role of power in Jeedo practice. In practice, bottom-up participatory research in this study started by familiarizing with the environment. This was done in a guided walk involving my research assistant, who guided me through the community to observe and talk to relevant community leaders and conduct interviews across the Emirate. About participatory listening, the role of a listener was ensured and the researcher's appearance was maintained in a manner that remained conducive and acceptable to the research environment and the Jeedo members. Every person was encouraged to speak and interest in what was said demonstrated at all times. Non-verbal communication, such as body language, was given due attention as well. The researcher(s) constantly sought clarification if needed to understand correctly what an individual tried to express.

3.12 Semi-structured Interviews

The qualitative interview is a professional conversation that has a structure and purpose. By using interviews, a systematic approach to generating new knowledge about phenomena in the social world is achieved (Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, 2009). In a qualitative interview, the researcher listens to what the interviewees talk about, focusing on their experiences in their own words. Interviews enable the researcher to explore their interpretations of events and elicit subjective accounts of daily experiences (Hubbard et al., 2003). Semi-structured interviews help to focus the interview on important aspects (Brinkmann, 2009), by using an interview guide with questions arranged with themes. It also allows additional questions in response to participants' answers and reactions in the interview situation (Bjørner 2015). Interview, as a method, is popular amongst researchers to find ways of ensuring the views of elderly persons (Mckillop, 2004; Wilkinson, 2003). It is possible for elderly persons to participate in interviews when their cognitive status is taken into consideration (Mckillop 2004). Interviews are scheduled at a time convenient for the participants. A flexible interview schedule is therefore important. On the other hand, interviews can also be a positive experience providing an opportunity to reflect and talk about events (Mckillop, 2004).

Specifically, during interviews conversations are based on a set of guideline questions as a way of learning about the views of older people in the Jeedo. Therefore, the interview process is flexible. This kind of flexibility allows the interviewee to describe events, observations and issues in very personal terms and less restrictively in responding to questions in his/her own words. The set of questions, however, ensures comparability of data during the analysis. Hausa was the language used through short,

simple and easy questions. Notes were taken during each interview on the non-verbal language of the interviewee as well as on certain specificities (the way responses were phrased) that were notable about the interview (Harrell & Bradley, 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Whiting, 2008). Further, interviews led to a deeper understanding of the perspectives related to how the practice satisfies the person's later life needs. In the interviews, my pre-understanding of each Jeedo participant equipped me with the meaning of practices and dimensions of satisfaction. Together the observations and interviews generated new knowledge about the practice, which paved the way for subsequent steps in the participatory process (Brinkmann, 2009). During the interview, listening to what the interviewees talked about and focused their experiences on in their own words was the main activity.

Finally, for community leaders the interviews were scheduled at a time convenient for them and lasted no longer than one hour. They were conducted in a separate environment. A flexible interview schedule was therefore provided. On the other hand, interviews produced a positive experience by providing an opportunity to reflect and talk about events in a critical manner about eldercare and the place of Jeedo in the scheme (Mckillop, 2004). The interviews helped to tailor learning and participatory activities together with the knowledge gained from the literature review and the participant observations. Thus, more was revealed about experiences, competences and challenges. The most active participants in the research were mainly from the council of fourteen, who were all interviewed, the Emirate council, Emirate historians, purposely selected members of the core seventy and selected section of clerics and caregivers.

3.13 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions, held as part of the participatory research methodologies, are a useful method to explore the depth and nuances of participants' opinions regarding an issue and capture the interpretations of a target audience. In each of the groups, the motive was explained for discussion in relation to Jeedo practice because of the emergent and open-ended nature of focus groups (Colucci, 2007; Hennink, 2013). For the Jeedo ingroup, participants were drawn from the Jeedo high council (majlis) and larger congregation, depending on the topic to be discussed. For non-Jeedo members, participants were drawn from Emirate title holders, the representatives of the Emir, the central mosque and the *Jamaatu Nassril Islam*. The focus group involved intensive discussion and interviewing small groups on a given 'focus' or issue, usually on a number of occasions over a period of time. Each focus group starts by thanking the participants for taking part in the discussion and explaining the purpose of the session. In addition, certain conventions (e.g. only one speaker at a time) of focus group discussions was observed. A free flow of discussion was facilitated, using a set of guided questions. Every participant had the opportunity to express uninterrupted his/her respective opinion and more quiet participants were encouraged to speak as well. Similar to the semi-structured interviews, the language used was clear and jargon-free.

Focus groups capitalise on the interaction within a group to elicit rich experiential data (Webb & Kevern, 2001). It explores issues that require the knowledge and expertise of those the research concerns because it gives them an opportunity to voice their opinions (Darling-Hammond, 2010). Group interactions involve discussion and hearing from others and give participants an opportunity to refine what they have to

say. This is useful in research requiring creative thinking, solutions and strategies (Lewis & Tollefsen, 2016; Lewis, 2015). It encompasses a wide range of practices – from formal structured interviews with people assembled around clearly delimited topics to less formal, more open-ended conversations (Åkerström & Brunnberg, 2013; Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2013). The focus groups allowed the Jeedo participants to have a voice and be inspired by each other. In a focus group, the researcher can be more or less interventionist by raising topics directly, calling some participants and holding off others, cutting off lines of talk that seem unproductive and challenging some apparent contradictions or vagueness (Barbour, 2007). The researcher guides the participants as they work through the agenda. Typically, focus groups are a mixture of structured and less-structured moderating styles, active/directive and passive/nondirective approaches (Bjørner 2015).

In the focus groups, I functioned as a moderator and tried to establish an authentic partnership. The research participants were given the opportunity to enter into conversations with each other (Richardson, 1997b). I used a creative and participatory type of focus group, as I assumed it would support the participants' voice, while acknowledging the need for the co-construction of knowledge through a supported dialogue. After each session, I wrote down field notes of what was observed and experienced during the sessions with the purpose of structuring the analysis. The focus group work contributed knowledge about how to conduct participatory research with elderly people.

3.14 Reflections On Participatory Research Phases

3.14.1 Phase I: Exploratory

The section relates to the application of participatory research in gaining access to the Jeedo and meet with the adherents. This section is important because it provides the backdrop for what occurred in subsequent process of the research. The sessions here largely provided the data for objectives one and two. The section largely achieved the understanding of the Jeedo practice within a historical context and a vision of the practice as contextualized by macro-level social forces within the Emirate, Bauchi state, and Nigeria.

1. The Gatekeepers and meeting the Jeedo Adherents

I contacted the Bauchi Emirate as the first step towards achieving the goal of this study. Knowing the cultural background of Bauchi as a Muslim society, it would be important to introduce myself in a way that was acceptable to both the Emirate and the Jeedo. To get the necessary respect and trust, approaching the Jeedo without formal introduction from the Emirate may not be feasible and might lead to suspicion. I therefore had to go through the Emirate's secretary, where I submitted my approval for data collection and certification of study from Universiti Utara Malaysia. This enabled me to explain my purpose and what I expect from the Emirate. It took over two weeks to be connected to the Emirate research officer. After series of phone calls and appeals, the officer finally appeared and I met him one-to-one in his office. Getting connected to the research and history, the officer provided great assistance and cooperation for my work throughout the research period. The research officer operates as the "*wakilin tarihin Bauchi*", translated as the history representative of the emir. The History & Research officer is in charge of a department in the Emirate palace, where he documents all historical information available and conducts research on sources of

Bauchi history. However, for the Jeedo there was no documented record. Consequently, he advised that we must rely on oral accounts for the historical origin of the Jeedo. He also informed me that, as the history and research department, they looked forward to my findings as a way of documenting Jeedo practice. On subsequent days of our meeting, he shared ideas about its possible practice from the development of Islamic institutions in Bauchi in relation to the Sokoto jihad.

Gradually, the research officer made a series of introductions to custodians of history across the Emirate. My frequent visitations and the attachment of a research assistant made me acceptable within parts of the palace and mosque community. Although this introduction gave me an initial commitment that they would support the project, it still took two weeks of visits and phone calls to reinforce and put that commitment into action. The feedback gained from gatekeepers greatly increased my understanding of the issues involved in recruiting participants in social research in general, but more significantly from native and spiritual/religious groups.

2. Palace Protocols

McLean and Campbell (2003) point out that recruitment (of participants) can make or break the success of social research projects. Therefore, before we can engage with anyone in cycles of action and reflection, we need to have the ability to establish relations with an appropriate grouping of people. This means we must either have some access to the community or need to develop legitimacy and the capacity to convene what goes along with it (Cornish, F., Priego-Hernandez, J., Campbell, C., Mburu, G., & McLean, 2014). In this research, this process was particularly slow and problematic, but it yielded insights about recruiting participants. It shows that, in conducting research with members of the opposite sex in a conservative setting like the Emirate, gaining access and developing legitimacy is particularly delicate and almost impossible. However, for this research this challenge

was overcome on the ground that the Jeedo participants were older women in menopause. Therefore, restriction as to when and how to see them could be relaxed. Aside the problem of access to the older women, getting access into parts of the Emir's palace and wives' quarters was another highly restricted activity and a limit to the extent of my participation in some activities. Further, a series of protocols and permissions taking made the process of meeting with the Jeedo and adherents a long and delicate process. This stage consists of making reports to the Emirate office, meeting with the history and research officer and the attachment of a male assistant. It was also inclusive of a brief training session on how to behave and move around in the palace. For example, as long as one is not of royal descent, wearing shoes is not allowed in the palace. There is also a time limit for the closure and opening of the various gates in the palace. The gate that was important for this research led to the grave of the Emirate's founder, *Malam Yakubu*, which was only opened to the Jeedo on Fridays for maintenance. Here the Jeedo perform intensive prayers after the cleaning and are presented with gift of *kolanuts* from the Emir's wife. On the days that the Jeedo chief is absent, she is represented by the Wakil or Vice Chief in the exercise. The cleaning of the grave is also a practice that has been done for over a century and a half, pointing to the death of the founder and spiritual leader of the Emirate.

3. Gaining Trust

In line with Silverman, (2016), (Silverman, 1971) and Kauffman (1994), the importance of giving the right 'impression' to gatekeepers and potential participants, particularly when working across cultural and social differences, was observed. My first contact with major community leaders was the Central Mosque hierarchy. The introduction was arranged by the history officer on Friday immediately after the congregation before the departure of community leaders. In this meeting, my first

contact was with the “Ladanin Bauchi”, translated as the Chief Muezzin, the second in command, while the Jeedo is the third in the central mosque administration and hierarchy. However, major decisions are taken by the Chief Imam as the first in command, who leads the congregation and delivers sermons. Since the “Ladan” is ahead of the Jeedo in rank, he approved of my work and its facilitation within the Central Mosque. Responsibility was formally delegated to a research assistant appointed for me called “*Dangaladeema*”, who was appointed earlier to facilitate all my meetings with identified community leaders and officials of the mosque. The assistant was told to provide a meeting space whenever I needed. The finding here relates to the importance of observing protocols to gain acceptance in a research within a conservative community. Overlooking this has the probability of crashing the project and the possibility of effective participation. Henceforth, I was allowed access to the inner parts of the Central Mosque and participated in the Jeedo routine of sweeping.

My next meeting as arranged by the “*Dangaladeema*” was the female mosque, which serves as Jeedo chambers as well. In this chamber, I met the presence of a more complex power structure. The Jeedo was at the top most position situated on a pulpit above other members. She was obviously the highest in the group. She was informed of my arrival through the hierarchy and accepted to see me after the congregation. Meanwhile she instructed that I could be allowed to join in any way. After the congregation, the hierarchy assembled and we began the first introductory session. Initially, concerns were raised by a member who resisted the project, suggesting that in the past they had been deceived by people coming to make promises with regards to women empowerment. This led to the immediate need to explain the purpose of the research and expectations were negotiated in a manner that made them understand that

I was not a politician or one who was there to share or make money but a researcher, who wished to participate in the Jeedo and learn from their activities. I sat on the floor while the Jeedo sat on the throne with a hat or *malafa*, as I explained further my intentions in Hausa. Afterwards, all the members contributed to the planning of the next and subsequent meetings and the need to approach those that were absent. They assured me that they would give their cooperation.

Gaining trust was a delicate process for which is essential to be transparent and genuine about your intentions in carrying out research. At the same time, it was necessary to be aware of the community's cultural and social expectations around behaviour, interactions and the wish to adapt to expectations as well. This process succeeded largely due to my background in Islam and fluency in Hausa. In addition, my method of dressing, which was a mixture of Hausa and Malay attire, made me more comfortable among the Jeedo members and the entire Emirate. The attire in the Emirate was similar in decency with the Islamic Malay type, for example, body parts were never exposed beside the face and the head, which were covered for both males and females. The choice of the Central Mosque as a venue also helped participants to trust me in all our meetings.

After the second meeting with “Ladanin Bauchi” and a couple of elders in the Central Mosque and “Jama’atu Nasril Islam”, we headed for the Jeedo’s house. On arrival at the Jeedo compound, an introductory meeting was held for the second time with the Jeedo and her council (Jeedo Majlis). In order not to be derailed from my objectives, I immediately clarified my mission once more before the Jeedo and the core council in addition to other senior members numbering over 40. In this meeting, ground

breaking discovery vital to the exploratory phase was achieved, including aspects of practice and the major reasons behind such routines. Personal challenges were also highlighted in this session. It also paved the way for questions to be asked in individual interviews and other aspects of knowledge that needed to be asked outside the Jeedo like information concerning the Emirate and other issues related to eldercare, especially aspects of history beyond the knowledge of the participants. Most of the sessions provided the opportunity for the researcher and the Jeedo adherents to learn about the past in relation to the present Jeedo practice. It appears most of the accounts were mentioned for the first time via this study. The research officer made further arrangements after subsequent Friday prayers. Usually on Fridays, the largest number of Jeedo members is present at the Jeedo chambers (the female mosque). In some Friday congregations, there are more than two thousand in total, the majority being old women from the ages of 50 to 100 and above while for Ramadhan they are countless.

4. Contacting community leaders

Finding community leaders was a major undertaking and much tedious than anticipated. Most of the interviews were rescheduled on several occasions; however, another contact with the *Wakilin Tarihi* yielded some good results. By the end of the exploratory phase, I had contacted all the necessary community leaders, groups and the local agencies related to the Jeedo. This contact made the whole process of identifying and arranging the FGDS easier and less frustrating. The experience of making contacts led to many important insights around seeking access to religious communities for the purpose of social research. This is more so in eastern Nigeria where the insurgency of the Boko Haram is rampant and outsiders are easily rejected. Making contacts also revealed the power of participation because the Jeedo members mostly suggest who is next to contact and where to see him or her and always

accompany the researcher to conduct the sessions with their collaboration the reason being that they consider the project as their own. Being accompanied by a Jeedo also includes other elderly men willing to share what they know about the practice. By the end of the research, more people wanted to contact me but since the scope was limited to the Jeedo, such requests were not entertained. However, a group of elderly men were allowed to attend an FGD and they tabled their complaints for being excluded in the Jeedo. We learnt their grievances and identified their needs. They were invited in the subsequent meetings, including the third and final phases on the research.

5. The settings for Research activities

The research activities were carried out in different settings: the Jeedo's compound was particularly important in the exploratory phase when I explored issues around the historical background and other influences of Jeedo practice. I engaged the high council after a one-to-one interview with the Jeedo. At the same venue, the next body in the hierarchy, which is the council of fourteen, was engaged in the first FGD that was exploratory and then within the compound I engaged each member in interviews individually. This enabled me to build a relationship of trust and observe their interactions with each other. I also visited them occasionally and during the action phase. The Central Mosque was another venue where FGDs were held for joint sessions with the Jeedo and male community leaders. The *Ladan* chambers were the first meeting venue with community leaders where we explored the religious bases of the practice and the reasons for sustaining it, including why it was part of the palace structure. Also discovered were the reasons for the Jeedo being an old woman's duty and whether such a rule could be relaxed. Outside the chambers was the main entrance used by Emirs when for prayers. A male only FGD was held on this venue where the general overview of the elderly conditions in Bauchi was obtained. This paved the way

for the next FGD. The JNI headquarters was another venue where social capital potentials were discussed, including the sources and investment of social capital for eldercare. Various administrative and power issues were discussed in relation to the Jeedo practice. Two other sessions were also held at the JNI headquarters at the action phase of the research. Finally, the main palace of the Emirate provided the venue for all my meetings with the research and history officer. The palace main gate was also another point where I interviewed elderly male historians. For other historians and community leaders, the interviews took place in their homes.

6. The Nature of Participation among the Jeedo

The method used in terms of participating among the members was participatory observation. For any activity assigned by the Jeedo, I participated actively. An important factor was to apply the understanding of the spiritual characteristics of the Jeedo, which I learnt in the exploratory stage, during the participatory process. I must also be willing to behave accordingly. Some things like wearing the right type of clothes appropriate for the day's activities, eating what the Jeedo offered and taking time to chat with the Jeedo and members. This is because among the core 70 Jeedo members, each had a specific duty and a portion of the Central Mosque she took care of. I was involved by all members during different activities. Key meanings arising from the routine activities provided the basis for my own reflections.

7. Reflecting on responses from the Jeedo and Emirate community.

The acceptance and cooperation I receive were obviously a very encouraging outcome and I reflected that the reasons for such a response could be based on a number of factors. Firstly, most members were amazed to learn that of the existence of such an interest in the Jeedo. Most did not think the old women were worthy of any attention as a bunch preparing for death. For example, the *wakil* told me that even the current

Jeedo may not survive to next year; they always died quickly because they were appointed at a very old age. Secondly, rather than insisting on immediate gratification, the Jeedo members believed that my work was to serve useful purposes in future for the group beyond their lives. This motivated most of the adherents to participate actively in the research process. Further, motivation was actually provided by the support of the Central Mosque leadership and Jama'atu Nasril Islam officials. As such, participation and cooperation were to a large extent less problematic. However, a few non-members and some Jeedo adherents outside the 70 Jeedo title-holders not involved were critical. This issue was also brought up in the men's and women's focus groups. Thirdly, the issue of participating in the activities was resolved at the earliest to remain within the core 70 Jeedo members, whom I could interact with and move along all the time. They were seen as old women who were safe from sexual practices and being Jeedo members, disengagement from sexual activities is paramount to their survival in the group. Apart from the more general participation issues described above, the nature of the reception to the researcher is overwhelming. I was able to adjust to the speed and method of organizing things in the Jeedo, recognizing the spiritual nature of the group, and the intense respect the old women had for the Jeedo. My way was free from obstruction, as I entered the chamber at any point in time to participate.

8. Ethical issues

The following ethical considerations guided me in my relationships with the Jeedo research participants: informed consent/assent was obtained from the Emirate which enabled the Jeedo to accept me and open up the group for my participation. Confidentiality and anonymity were maintained throughout the research. The same principles were maintained in all reporting and dissemination. The exception was when participants chose to disseminate findings themselves and give up anonymity for that

purpose. The need for confidentiality made my contact with Jeedo be initiated from the Emirate council, so that it was formal and according to the rules that governed research in the Emirate. Participatory research has explicit emancipatory goals and seeks to benefit the participants directly. This was achieved through giving the Jeedo members the opportunity to reflect critically on their current situation and gain skills to engage in planning and acting. All the activities were planned and facilitated; with that in mind the participants developed new insights and skills helpful in ensuring their needs were met in future. This intended benefit of the proposed Jeedo extended to the all the elderly women in Jeedo and the men in the Emirate, as much as it did to the rest of the Emirate and similar societies in north-eastern Nigeria in line with the Madrid plan of action (2009).

3.15 Phase II

The second phase built from the first exploratory learning tasks. In the second phase, various sessions and meetings were organized. The data obtained in this phase was used to answer Objective Three and served as preparatory to actions for Objective Four. More interviews were held with the history and research officer (Wakilin Tarihi) in the main palace office where a deeper oral account and analysis of history related to the Jeedo was provided. Secondary sources were also provided and studied to clarify historical issues in addition to what he knew in relation to the link between Jeedo practice and the development of Islamic culture in Bauchi. Subsequently, further sessions were held at the mosque through focused group discussions. A tracing method of sampling was used to trace other persons deemed to have useful information for consultation. For subsequent sessions, some were traced at home and the palace

building. This covered three weeks. The phase largely achieved the integration of theory and practice.

3.16 Conclusion

In this chapter, the appropriate research methodology was adopted with data collection and analysis conducted in line with the participatory approach adopted by the research. As mentioned, qualitative methods were used in order to provide an account of Jeedo practice and its relevance to eldercare, examine the details involved in the practice, analyse the challenges and social capital prospects in the practice and transform it into a wider safety net for all the elderly. Reflections were also made on Phases I & II of the research, which made up the exploratory stage. Ethical issues and reflections on participatory research were provided. This phase provided the data analyses and discussion for answers to Objectives One, Two and Three. Finally, the stage was set for participatory Phase III, which answered Objective Four as the main goal of the participatory research. All the three phases made up the data analysis and discussion chapter, which answered all the research objectives according to the questions set.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and discussion of the data generated from Phases One and Two of the study through PRA and qualitative research methods; these were participatory observation, interviewing and focus group discussions. The interview data were transcribed from audio to text and field notes also typed and coded for easy analysis. This is a participatory research that is set to explore Jeedo practice as a method that can be strengthened for eldercare. The previous chapter dealt with the methodology and research paradigm and reflection on phases of the research. Therefore, this chapter discusses the Jeedo practice in relation to the literature reviewed. Further, the chapter presents the third phase of the research, which accounts for the transformation proposed in the Jeedo practice through the participatory approach. In this research, the participatory method was employed the process of which was embedded in the data collection, findings, interpretation and analysis. Also, different sections of the data were used to answer the different questions in the study. The phenomenon of the study was the Jeedo and how the practice can be utilized as a more effective safety net for the elderly. In this regard, this section provides a synthesis of findings to address the research objectives:

- 1) To explore the historical origin and relevance of the Jeedo practice to eldercare.
- 2) To examine the practice and dimensions of eldercare provided.
- 3) To analyse the challenges facing the Jeedo in serving as a safety net.

4) To suggest a model of the Jeedo as a wider and more inclusive safety net for old-age care through PRA. To achieve the above objectives, this research was guided by the participatory framework based on a combination of social capital, social support and safety net concepts. It was important to combine these theories in utilizing the assumption that the Jeedo can be improved towards transforming the plight of the elderly in Bauchi and beyond. Based on this assumption, Objective One explored the historical background and significance of the Jeedo practice in relation to eldercare in the Emirate. The result revealed a strong relationship between the practice and the foundation as well as the development of the Emirate. It also revealed the meaning constructed around the practice, which makes it relevant and a potential source of support for old-age care in response to aging crises. This also was used to prove the objective of the researches and the answer to Research Question One. Objective Two explored the Jeedo practice in detail. The results indicated more religiousness and care for members as well as high potentials for eldercare that can be mobilized. However, care in the practice was one-sided for women only. This led to the answer for Research Question Two. Objective number three analysed the various challenges faced by the practice and answered Research Question Three. The third phase was the transformative phase, which addressed Objective Four and answered Research Question Four. The proposed transformation was based on identified prospects that can be utilized towards a wider and more inclusive safety net. The PRA was based on the analysis and views of the Jeedo adherents, the Emirate community and stakeholders and knowledge from previous phases served as the basis for the stages. The aim was to improve the Jeedo as a more inclusive safety net for eldercare. A new model was proposed through the PRA. This led to the answer for Objective Four in relation to Research Question Four.

4.2 Demographic And Socio-Economic Characteristics

The description of the socio-demographic characteristics is meant to expose the readers of this study to the characteristics of the members of the Jeedo ingroup. In addition, the characteristics are very important considerations, because the profile of a group may strongly predict the type of transformation needed through the PRA in addition to policies, programs and services that need to be created to address them (Darkwa, 2010).

Table 2 Age The characteristics of the Jeedo members interviewed.

General Participants interviewed from the Jeedo high council (Majilis)		
Age	No	%
60-65	1	4%
65-69	4	17%
70-75	6	25%
76-79	9	37%
80+104	4	16%
Total	24	100

From the above table, the age of the Jeedo adherents ranged from 60-64 (4%), 65-69 (17%), 70-75 (25%), 76-79 (37%), 80+ (8%) and 80+104 (8%). The group with the highest prevalence are the age group of 76–79 (35%), followed by 70-75 (25%), 65-69 (17%) and the oldest old with 16%. Although the population characteristics is in line with the general demographic trends of the Nigerian population, the definition of the elderly starts below the conventional age of sixty-five in Bauchi.

Among the Jeedo, the definition of old age is based on a religious conception of a unilinear progression from childhood through different stages of social responsibility. This finding is supported by the outcome of an interview with clerics, which indicates

that old age is defined through a method of the *seven by seven stages theory*. It considers a series of a seven-year passage into seven separate stages, finally resulting in old age. The first set (7 years) is considered as childhood and a period for the enforcement of Salat rules in children. The second set (14 years) is the onset of maturity or puberty in girls. The third set (21 years) is a period of conscience development. The fourth set (28 years) is the age of responsibility. The fifth set (35 years) is the peak of youthfulness and the sixth stage (41) the age of wisdom and final maturity. The rest of the subsequent stages extend through the life span.

The seven by seven theory of defining old age has resulted in the perception of it to be constructed around respectful concepts like the *dattijo* or *dattijuwa* referring to the young old for persons aged 50 to 65, who are still active socially. Beyond 65 the concept of *tsoho* (male) or *tsohuwa* (female) refers to an old man or woman of ages 75 to 85 who is less active socially than a general concept for both male and female known as *kaka* (both male and female) for much older person of 85 years or more, who are more restricted by frailty. Finally, the centenarian, who is 100 years or more like the Jeedo leader, is referred to as *tsoho tukuf* (male) or *tsohuwa tukuf* (female). These concepts generally connote respect and regard for the elderly. Old age and its meaning in the Emirate are socially constructed realities based on chronology and religious definition, respect and a sense of obligation to the elderly. The younger generation relate to older adults from the age of 55 through jokes known as *wasan jika da kaka*. From the lowest personality to the rank of the Emir, the elderly can relate through jokes, as observed during the participation. Through the joke sessions, the elderly table their demand and the younger respond where feasible. Such demands are not necessarily a filial duty, but extended to every elderly adult as a custom, anytime

anywhere in the Emirate. The elderly in Bauchi enjoy a high level of community solidarity.

4.3 Education in Jeedo Practice

In the case of the Jeedo adherents, it can be said that what they lack is western education, but many of the elderly persons interviewed in the Jeedo (22 out of the 24) demonstrated a sound knowledge of Islam. The Ustaz in charge accounted for the reasons in this regard that they were taught a lot about Islamic exigencies, *Qur'anic* recitation and *mu'ammalat* when they joined the Jeedo. The Jeedo School is always available for members across the Emirate. Most of the Jeedo members testified to having intensive learning since they started Jeedo practice. This was made possible by the school where the old women were taught wide ranging Islamic activity and worship (Ibaadat). The educational system in the Jeedo has historical links with the foundation of the Emirate from the institutions that were universally applied throughout the Sokoto Caliphate. Although the method was challenged by some scholars for combining men and women to teach them, the Shehu defended this by saying that rather than women to live separately in ignorance, it was better to mix with men and be educated. As such, women were placed at the back of the class and men at the front.

4.4 The Religious Characteristics of the Jeedo Adherents

Religion plays a crucial role in affecting one's psychological and emotional well-being and at times acts as a source of mental strength (Wong, 2004; 2018). All the Jeedo members are Muslims. In Bauchi Emirate, Islam is the main religion reflected in the Jeedo. Bauchi inhabitants are highly religious. The high level of religiosity is not

surprising because the Emirate lies in a conservative setting characterized by old architecture and the absence of inns and clubs unless outside the town walls. Further, Bauchi is home to famous Sheiks like *Dahiru Usman Bauchi*. Attending daily prayers is a major daily activity. Friday prayers are attended with a very wide congregation after which people meet each other while the Jeedo offer food and drinks to the congregation as *Sadaqah*. Another important factor that could also explain the religiosity in Bauchi, according to the history and research officer (Wakilin Tarihi), is because the people are very proud of the way Islam was brought to Bauchi. There is a common belief that, out of all the Emirates in Sokoto Caliphate, Bauchi is exceptional, because when the Emirate was created, the Emir of Bauchi was the first to receive the Jihad flag hand to hand from Caliph Usman dan Fodio. Due to this direct contact, the Emir of Bauchi is seen above most other Emirs, who received their flags through emissaries. It could be inferred from the data that religiosity in Bauchi can play a vital role in the solidarity that can be mobilized for the Jeedo Safety Net.

4.5 The Ethnic background of Jeedo members

All the members of the congregation, including those that participated in the study, were Hausa/Fulani and also natives of Bauchi Emirate. Inferring from these data, it could be said that the Jeedo is a homogeneous group. However, homogeneity is a major weakness of the practice due to the isolation of men from social capital prospects. The ethnic factor might further shed light on the relationship between ethnic diversity and the methods of eldercare.

4.6 Marital Status

An investigation into the marital status of the elderly revealed that all the members of the congregation had been married at one time in their lives. The Jeedo herself married twice due to the death of her first husband. Currently, nine members were still married and living with their spouses. These were mostly members who had just entered old age (60-69 years). Others are mostly widows that have survived their husbands. Most of them had early marriages at a time when western education was less cherished. As such, most were married before commencing their first menstrual period at the age 12, 13-14 years. It could be inferred from the data that majority of the Jeedo participants were widows, implying a relationship between widowhood, religiosity, networking and voluntarism.

4.7 Children and Grandchildren

The Jeedo has total of 12 children and 160 grandchildren. Majority of the Jeedo members had between four and twelve children. There was however a notable case of one member who was childless and some who had more than 14 children. These children were in some cases born to the men from multiple marriages, which is acceptable since Islam permits it. Findings on children and grandchildren reveal that the attitude towards having children in Bauchi is consistent with the studies reviewed (Abidemi, Asiyanbola R., 2005; Shofoyeke, A. D. & Amosun, P. A., 2014; Okumagba, 2011; Adebawale, S. A. & Atte, O. , 2012 ; Dimkpa, D. I. , 2015). Thus, the children are seen as a sort of insurance against poverty and suffering in old age. Beside the economic advantage, it was also learnt that childbirth is a cherished value in the community. Couples with a large number of children are upheld and honoured, particularly women, as a form of social investment against old age. The more children

one has the better for the person in his or her old age. The practice of giving birth to more children, as observed in Bauchi, reinforces the literature that raising children as a form of social insurance against old age has a universal acceptance. However, the data from this shows that most of the Jeedo members show a higher level of satisfaction with the care from the Jeedo than their children and relatives. This might be related to the dimensions of care and satisfaction obtained in Jeedo.

4.8 The Profile of Participants

Participation was conducted within the congregation through interviews with the Jeedo leader, 14 members of the high council of the Jeedo chiefs and 10 ordinary members of the congregation. A total of seven focus group discussion sessions were conducted at different phases of the research, venue and time.



Table 3 Summary of Informants and Codes

Informants	Informants code
Community leader 1	INF 1
Community leader 2	INF 2
Historian 1	INF3
Historian 2	INF4
Historian 3	INF5
Historian 4	INF6
Chief 1	INF7
Chief 2	INF8
Chief 3	INF9
Chief 4	INF10
Chief 5	INF11
Chief 6	INF12
Chief 7	INF13
Chief 8	INF14
Chief 9	INF15
Chief 10	INF16
Chief 11	INF17
Chief 12	INF18
Chief 13	INF19
Chief leader	INF20
Ustaz	INF21
Member 1	INF22
Member 2	INF23
Member 3	INF24
Member 4	INF25
Member 5	INF26
Member 6	INF27
Member 7	INF28
Member8	INF29
Member 9	INF30
Member 10	INF31
FGD 1	INF32
FGD 2	INF33
FGD 3	INF34
FGD 4	INF35
FGD 5	INF36
FGD 6	INF37
FGD 7	INF38

Table 4 FGD 1 General condition of the elderly in Bauchi

Age Range	Gender	Number	Nature of participation
47	Male	7	FGD on general condition of the elderly in Bauchi
49			
44			
46			
48			
43			
45			
Total		7	

The first focus group had seven male participants. The aim was to obtain an overview of the general condition of the elderly in Bauchi as it pertained to eldercare. The FGD was held at the Central Mosque about the general issues militating against the wellbeing of the elderly to obtain the larger scenario of their situation and experience. Since the Jeedo is a segment of the elderly population in Bauchi, the FGD sought to explore the motive and nature of care in the Jeedo within the general condition of the elderly. The questions were open and the forum was orderly. Further, the account of individual responses was in line with main objectives of the study.

The FGD obtained responses on the problems of the elderly in the Emirate, including the state of filial obligation and the relationship between elderly wellbeing and the current economic hardship in the country. The FGD revealed a high level of awareness about the Jeedo and how the participants demonstrated a sense of belonging and even involvement in the practice.

The researcher noticed the role of power in Jeedo practice right from this FGD and made him realize that the Jeedo is a conservative practice and might be difficult to change. Such discouragement came from reactions that it was strictly controlled by the emir and that any alteration or modification had to be with his consent. This was

debated by the participants based on their knowledge about the history of the Emirate and the extent of the emir's involvement in the practice. While a few believed the Jeedo could be modified because other government agencies were encroaching into it, for example, the state environmental council, others maintained that the Jeedo was a conservative institution not receptive to change. At the end of the FGD, the participants agreed that a new way of protecting the Jeedo was needed even if it meant imposing levies on government civil servants. The outcome of the FGD provided data relevant to the growth of the elderly population in Bauchi and the challenges facing their wellbeing in relation to eldercare. The FGD also supplemented the data obtain from the interview with the research officer and other Emirate historians on the meaning of old-age and the elderly, including what the Jeedo stood for. The FGD contributed to Objectives One and parts of Objective Two.

Table 5 FGD 2 Exploratory Discussion with Jeedo Council

Age Range	Gender	Number	Nature of participation
50	Female	16	First FGD with the Jeedo; introductory on hierarchy, and general background of the rituals of the practice
59			
64			
76			
88			
93			
104			
Total		16	

The second FGD was the first with the Jeedo members and was held at the Jeedo's house as an introduction that paved the way for the subsequent participatory phases. In the last FGD at the Central Mosque, a general overview of the condition of the elderly was obtained and also the value attached to old-age and the meaning attached to the practice. The FGD further stressed the importance of the Jeedo as a traditional title in the Emirate, usually turbaned and accorded all the privileges of council members. In this discussion, the procedure for selection of a new Jeedo, the qualities

expected from a prospective Jeedo chief, the origin and motives behind the Jeedo, including how it was initiated, and the role of successive emirs in sustaining the practice were thoroughly discussed.

As an FGD that was conducted in an earlier phase of the research, specifics about the Jeedo practice were discussed and equipped the researcher with the necessary knowledge about how to be an active observer in the Jeedo. Deeper spiritual aspects were discussed, including Islamic, spiritual, educative and caring dimensions and preparation towards their final transition. Generally, this FGD revealed the correct way to pronounce the Jeedo, the appointment process and qualification to become the Jeedo. It also highlighted the personal characteristics of the Jeedo and her leadership qualities and traced the relationship between the practice and the emir as well as the role of the Emirate in assisting the elderly. Much was also derived for social capital analysis in terms of bonding and linkage.

Table 6. FGD 3 (Female) Details of Practice

Age Range	Gender	Number	Nature of participation
69	Female	13	FGD ; specific schedules in the practice and how rituals involved are performed. A critical perspective of the Jeedo members on the actual challenges of power relations militating against the practice.
68			
63			
75			
60			
60			
91			
74			
81			
88			
81			
73			
104			
Total		13	

The third is a female FGD built from the previous ones and centred around learning from the Jeedo council, the specific schedules in the practice and how the mosque

needs to be cleaned. Further discussion on the sweeping procedure and the rituals involved were made in detail as part of the study objective on details of practice. In this FGD also, in-depth data on the ranks and functions of each title holder in the Jeedo was obtained. In addition to the general problems of the elderly in Bauchi established earlier, the perspectives of the Jeedo members were obtained in this FGD on the actual challenges militating against the practice. Other more personal issues of health and family were also revealed. However, the most mentioned challenge was the change in attitude of the present Emir on the Jeedo. In the discussion on the problems related to power, the Jeedo members were very critical of the new regime in the Emirate, showing no fear or reservations. It all appears that the reflective approach to the discussions in the FGD 2 had equipped the members on the need to discuss and change the issues of power affecting their practice. This FGD provided data for Objectives Two and Three in addition to willingness and active participation in the transformative phase of the research, which answered Objective Four.

Table 7 FGD 4 knowledge creation and analysis

Age Range	Gender	Number	Nature of participation
45	Male	5	FGD; focus on the network, modelling, strength of the network, perception, needs for improvement and religious / spiritual background
69			
68			
63			
75			
Total		5	

The fourth FGD was another male discussion held at the Chief Muezzin's chambers aimed at the more senior clergy class in the Emirate, who were also the major stakeholders in the Jeedo. The discussion commenced with a focus on the Jeedo as a network and how to improve its modelling, especially the strength of the network. This

included how the Ummah perceived the Jeedo, including the influences of prominent figures in Islam. Also discussed were aspects of the Jeedo that needed to be improved in the duty and care for the elderly. More was revealed about the background to the spiritual activities performed in the group and the relevance of these dimensions to eldercare. More was also discussed about the power relations between the Jeedo and Emirate. This FGD established how the deep influence of the Emirate on the practice controlled the Jeedo. In this regard, one can safely conclude the Jeedo as a practice ‘for’ elderly women rather than a practice by elderly women the reason being that further depreciation of power relations and the negative attitude from the Emirate can terminate the Jeedo practice. For now, the data from this FGD also indicated the absolute dependency of the Jeedo on the good will or otherwise of the emir.

Table 8FGD 5 (Female) Demonstration of Rituals

Age Range	Gender	Number	Nature of participation
50	Female	23	FGD ; the
59			significance of
64			knowledge and
76			devotional
88			education
63			provided to
80			members were
69			demonstrated and
68			discussed as
63			dimension of care
75			
68			
63			
75			
60			
60			
91			
74			
80			
88			
81			
73			
80			
Total		23	

The fifth FGD was held at the Jeedo School to learn more on the belief system and expectation behind the Jeedo and further reveal the extent and dimensions of the satisfaction derived by the members. The significance of knowledge and devotional education provided to members was demonstrated and discussed. This session revealed the dimension of care and the importance of the Jeedo practice in relation to the avenue for knowledge, company, guidance and solace from other members. It also showed the expectations of the members in relation to their welfare from the practice.

Table 9FGD 6 (Female) further demonstration of rituals

Age Range	Gender	Number	Nature of participation
68	Female	7	FGD
63			
75			
60			
60			
91			
74			
80			
Total		7	

The sixth FGD was held at the Jeedo chambers. In this discussion, further demonstration of the rituals involved in the practice, including annual, monthly and daily schedules as well as the division of responsibility, were made. Deeper meanings attached to the aspects of the practice in relation to spirituality and religion were revealed. Importantly, the prospects and pillars of social capital and the reasons for the existence of inactive social capital were understood, as deeper aspects of power relations were revealed. Generally, the FGDs formed the background to the data utilized for the PR approach, specifically on the proposed new model of the Jeedo.

Table 10 FGD 7(male) knowlede and analysis²

Age Range	Gender	Number	Nature of participation
45	Male	11	FGD
49			
44			
46			
43			
43			
45			
Total		11	

This session was held at the JNI office building on the first male FGD and focused on how the activities of the Jeedo could be improved to cover more elderly people in Bauchi and the ways to adopt. The session had eleven participants. As a result, we discussed and learnt that there was need for a model that could work to improve the Jeedo. From what we learnt in the session moderated by the officials and the research team, since the JNI had been working with the Jeedo group, it was in a better position to be consulted on the way forward for the Jeedo. Issues raised included the way the Jeedo existed as group, aspects of their wellbeing, as highlighted in the first session, and generally how to approach the improvement. The focus was on an improved model that could remain relevant and adaptive to the Emirate and adequately address eldercare needs. There were various reflections on the need to institute a stronger Jeedo, as noted in the previous session, due to rising number of the elderly in the Emirate and also further to address other issues of care. This FGD provided the basis for the participatory approach that led to the design and proposal of a new model and also served to mobilize the participants with the relevant knowledge of stakeholders that should be involved in the new model. In addition, the FGD secured the consent of the participants for a joint session in the next phase.

4.9 Thematic Analysis

A thematic analysis inspired by Braun and Clarke was used to analyse the data generated by the study. The analysis is foundational qualitative method, which is widely-used. Braun & Clarke, (2013) argue that it is an analytical method without adherence to any particular theory or framework (Guest & MacQueen, 2012), which means it can be used across a range of epistemologies from essentialist to constructivist and across a range of research questions. It is flexible for identifying, analysing and reporting themes within data and interpreting various aspects of the research topic (rRasi, Künzler-Heule et al. 2014). Thematic analysis is appropriate for research questions around people's experiences and understandings and can be applied to produce data-driven or theory-driven analysis (Clarke, Braun 2013) because flexibility allows the determining of themes in different ways as long as consistency is applied. It is possible to use the analysis for a rich thematic description of the entire data to get a sense of any predominant themes. It can also be used to provide a more detailed and nuanced account of a group of themes within the data. This might relate to a specific area of interest within the data (a semantic approach).

The themes can be identified in one of two primary ways – inductive or deductive (theoretical). An inductive approach means the identified themes are strongly linked to the data themselves by coding the data without trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding framework or analytical preconceptions. In deductive thematic analysis, the analysis is driven by a theoretical or analytical interest in the area and is thus more explicitly analyst-driven, meaning data is coded for quite specific research questions. It provides a more detailed analysis of some aspect of the data (Braun, Clarke 2013). The themes can be identified at two levels – the semantic or the latent. With a semantic

approach, the themes are identified within the explicit meaning. The researcher is not looking for anything beyond what a participant has said (Braun, 2006). At the latent level, one identifies the underlying ideas, assumptions, conceptualisations and ideologies that are theorised as shaping the data. The development of the themes themselves involves interpretation and the analysis is already theorised. It tends to come from a constructionist paradigm and in this form thematic analysis overlaps with some forms of discourse analysis (Braun, Clarke 2006).

Thematic analysis can be conducted within constructionist paradigms where meaning and experience are socially produced and reproduced rather than inherent within individuals. Therefore, when conducted within a constructionist framework it cannot focus on motivation or individual psychologies but seek to theorise the socio-cultural contexts and structural conditions that enable the individual accounts (Braun, 2006). The analysis involves searching across data to find repeated patterns of meaning. The exact form and product of a thematic analysis varies. Those who consider specific aspects, latent themes and are constructionist tend to cluster together, while those who consider meanings embrace the whole data set and semantic themes and are realist-oriented often cluster together (Braun, Clarke 2006).

In the study, the analysis was related to a specific area of interest, which means a selective analysis of essential episodes was conducted and a detailed analysis of some aspect of the data coded. The approach was inductive with deductive elements because the themes emerged and were discovered from the data (a bottom-up and data centred approach) but at the same time I was driven by an analytical interest in the area looking at specific episodes that said something about the objectives of the present study. The

level of analysis involved a progression from identifying the themes on a semantic level to interpret them on a latent level.

Table 11. Thematic Analytical process

S/N	Steps/Phase	Thematic Analytical Process
1.	Phase 1	Familiarising yourself with the data
2.	Phase 2	Generating initial codes
3.	Phase 3	Searching for themes
4.	Phase 4	Reviewing potential themes
5.	Phase 5	Defining and naming themes
6.	Phase 6	Producing the report

From the above table, in Phase One the researcher familiarised with data in by reading them repeatedly, searching for meanings and patterns. This provided the basis of the analysis, where notes and ideas of initial analytical observations were written down (Braun, Clarke 2006, Clarke, Braun 2013).

In Phase Two, the initial codes were generated inspired by the initial list of ideas from Phase 1. The codes identified what was interesting and referred to the most basic segment of the raw data that could be assessed in a meaningful way regarding a particular phenomenon. The coding organised the data into meaningful groups (Tuckett 2005) guided by the research question. The phase ended by collating all the codes and relevant data extracts (Clarke, Braun 2013).

Moving on to Phase Three, the researcher looked for themes in the list of codes and the analysis was re-focused at a broader level of themes, sorting the different codes into potential themes to form overall themes. A collection of candidate themes and

subthemes were identified (Braun, Clarke 2006). The phase ended by collating all the coded data relevant to each theme (Clarke, Braun 2013).

In Phase Four, the themes were reviewed and refined and some themes recognised as not being themes while others might collapse into each other or be broken down into separate themes (Braun, Clarke 2006). When the refinements do not add something substantial new to the analysis, it is time to stop. The themes should tell a convincing and compelling story about the data and begin to define the nature of each individual theme and the relationship between them (Clarke, Braun 2013).

The next phase is about defining and naming the themes. The essence of each theme is identified and the aspect of the data in each theme captured is determined. Collected data extracts for each theme are re-visited and organised into a coherent and internally consistent account with accompanying narrative. It is vital to identify what is interesting about them and why (Braun, Clarke 2006). For each theme, a detailed analysis is conducted. In the end of this phase, themes and sub-themes are defined clearly and named (Clarke, Braun 2013).

In Phase Six, the final text is produced based on the themes and involves the final analysis and write-up. Here the focus is to relate the story of the data in a way that convinces the reader of the merit and validity of the analysis (Braun, Clarke 2006). The beginning of the analysis process started with focusing on the whole. This meant all the materials, including recordings of the focus group sessions and the field notes taken immediately after each session were seen and read several times in their entirety to get an overview of the material. The aim was to familiarise and capture a first understanding of the material, searching for meanings and explanations.

4.10 The Themes and Sub-themes that emerged

Four themes and twenty-two sub-themes were identified by the study. Theme one: the historical origin of the Jeedo practice. Under this theme, the sub-themes that emerged were: the meaning of the word “Jeedo”, the influence of the Sokoto Caliphate, building the old mosque, the influence of the Emirate, the appointment of the Jeedo, the historical influence of pious women and the relevance of the Jeedo practice. The second theme identified by the researcher was the details of practice. The sub-themes that emerged were participation, hierarchy, rituals, recitations, schedules. The third theme, the dimensions of eldercare in the Jeedo practice, had subthemes identified as protective support, spiritual and religious support, community engagement, networking and reciprocity. The theme challenges facing Jeedo practice had sub-themes that emerged as the challenges of power relation, the challenges of formal protection, the failure of filial duties and personal challenges.

Table 12 Summary of Emergent Themes from Thematic Analysis

Theme	Sub themes	Codes
Origin and Relevance	Meaning of the word Jeedo	OR 1. OR 1-1
	Influence of Sokoto caliphate	OR1-2-
	Building of the Old Mosque	OR1-3-
	Influence of the Emirate	OR1-4
	Appointment of the Jeedo	OR1-5
	Influence of Pious women	OR1-6-
	Relevance to elder Care	OR1-7
Details of Jeedo Practice	Participation in Jeedo	PD 2. PD2-1
	The Jeedo Hierarchy	PD2-2
	Rituals	PD2-3
	Recitations	PD2-4
	Important schedules	PD-2-5

Dimensions of Eldercare	Protective support	DI 3. PDI-3-1
	Spiritual and religious support	PDI3-2
	Community engagement	PDI3-3
	Networking and reciprocity	PDI3-4
Challenges	Challenges from power relations,	CH 4. CH4-1
	challenges of formal protection	
	failure in filial duties and personal	CH4-2
	challenges	CH4-3

4.11 The Origin And Relevance Of Jeedo Practice

The theme of the relevance of the Jeedo practice responds to the first objective of the study. Since the Jeedo has no documented history in line with the first question, the objective was to conduct a participatory inquiry into the origin of the practice to establish its relevance. Activities in this phase generated information about the origin and relevance of Jeedo practice achieved through the participatory sessions, focus group discussions and interviews, thematic analysis and the subthemes that emerged. The themes that emerged in relation to the first question were the meaning of the word “Jeedo”, the influence of the Sokoto Caliphate, building the old Mosque, the influence of the Emirate, the influence of pious women and the appointment of the Jeedo.

4.11.1 The Meaning of the word “Jeedo”

On the literal meaning of the Jeedo, an Emirate historian explained as follows: -

To start with the word Jeedo, unlike the conception by most people around, as “Jeedo”, the term should be understood from its Hausa meaning which means Jeedo i.e. transferring an object from one place to another. For example, ants can come out in millions to transfer the contents of a barn to its nest, by gradually picking one grain after the other, until the whole barn is emptied. Such cannot be accomplished by a single ant, but because

of team work and the spirit of oneness, the ant or bees are able to accomplish that much, within a night or even a shorter period. This literally describes the basis of the word Jeedo as a Hausa word, implying the transfer of large number of items from one point to another through team work. Such team work activity is called Jeedo (OR 1-1-INF3).

The above account by INF3 on the meaning of the word was the first issue raised in a woman focus group discussion about the correct pronunciation of Jeedo. According to another informant (INF8),

Point of correction. You are not pronouncing our titles correctly. first, try to say “Jeeee dow” not Judo when referring to her or the group. (OR-1-1-INF-8)

The two accounts above clarified important aspects about the meaning of the practice. The account of INF-8 demonstrated how Jeedo is pronounced using a respectful tone, signifying a reference made to a parent, a senior person, leader and mother. The pronunciation also connotes reference to authority. The account of INF3 clarified the implied meaning of the Jeedo. As translated from Hausa, the term exemplified the transfer of objects from one place to another best seen in the activities of termites, bees or similar insects that transfer items from one point to another as a routine. For example, ants can come out in their millions to transfer the contents of a barn to its nest by gradually picking one grain after the other until the whole barn is emptied. This reflects the spirit of diligence with which the Jeedo is practiced. Different religious tasks are performed by its members under the instruction of their leader, known as Jeedo as well. Importantly, the Jeedo is an informal activity far from material reward. An inference from the lateral meaning of Jeedo from Hausa portrays the positive regard given to Jeedo practice as an elderly activity. Previous studies were almost conclusive on the negative change in values about the perception of elders across

Nigeria (Eboiyehi, 2015; Dimkpa, 2015; Scholastica, 2018). However, these two accounts in addition to observations made during the participation implied the existence of high regard for elders in Bauchi. Further, the meaning of the word is socially constructed around a duty, which dictates what happens in Jeedo practice. Again, the satisfaction derived from the duties in relation to the religious perception of the Jeedo members provides a feeling of satisfaction that fulfils the objective of saving for the journey towards death. This aspect of satisfaction is an important feature of the Jeedo safety net.

4.11.2 The Influence of the Sokoto Caliphate

A male community leader, palace chief and historian who had witnessed the Jeedo practice for over seventy years accounted for the influence of Sokoto on Jeedo practice.

He confirmed this during an interview at the palace that,

The Shehu has held high regard for the elderly. For example, he asked for an old woman to sight the Ramadhan moon. So, we can say the Jeedo was began by Shehu Usman dan Fodio. The Shehu was copied, because the practice of Jeedo came from the authority of the caliphate. Yakubu of Bauchi began it in Bauchi. (OR1-2- INF4)

Further, the Jeedo was linked to the educational practices of the Caliphate, as pointed out by the INF2 (Ladan),

After the demise of Usman Dan Fodio, there was a famous female scholar called Nana Asma'u the Caliph sister. At that period, there was a gap created by the demise of Shehu over the calibre of scholar that can continue to give fatwa. Nana Asma'u was so learned, that she had enough knowledge about Islam, much more than needed to educate the populace. So, she led the way for women in the caliphate by continuing with the tradition of teaching women as started by the Shehu. Out of the women, the elderly ones were assigned to clean the Mosques (OR1-2-INF2)

Another scholar at the Central Mosque FGD held in the Chief Muezzin's chamber further clarified the contribution of the Caliphate through "Nana Asma'u" and her disciples (Iyantaru),

As a famous female scholar and direct descendant of the Caliph Usman bin Fodio, Nana Asma'u led the way for women in the caliphate, by continuing with the tradition of teaching both men and women as started by the Shehu. Her famous class of female students known as Iyantaru (female congregation of matured scholars) were thought Islamic lessons. Out of the Iyantaru, more senior ones were selected among those in menopause, to engage in cleaning the mosque before each prayer. The old women also clean and supply water for prayers. The other Emirates recognized these practices but as for other Emirates I don't know how the practices were adapted. (OR1-2- INF3)

The information from INF4 shows the position of elderly women in the entire Caliphate and the Emirate as actively engaged in matters of public importance, like sighting the moon. Further, the information by INF2 strengthened the active role of women in education, which was also supported by INF3. The above three accounts were supported by studies on the influence of the Sokoto Caliphate system in promoting high regard for women's education, including assigning older women higher educational responsibilities to teach and spread literacy by the Shehu and his descendants (Ibraheem, S. 2008; Beak, 2012; Johnston, 1967). This explains the reason why there is high level of literacy among older women in the Emirate. It is also evident here that from such teachings, the famous Nana Asma'u's class of *Iyantaru*, could have influenced the establishment of the Jeedo in Bauchi and similar practices across the Caliphate. However, despite the possible differences in name and the advanced nature of the Jeedo in Bauchi, its link to the main practices of the Sokoto Caliphate is to be noted as important in the value attached to the practice. This places it within the

categories for reflection about the influence of the main line teaching of the Caliph in Bauchi Emirate. This tends to be the main reason why the practice has persisted to date. Irrespective of satisfaction, the older women persistently come to the Jeedo to experience the sense of protection they believe is derived from the practice in preparation for death.

4.11.3 Building the Old Mosque

The building of the old mosque was also central to the introduction and eventual institutionalization of the practice. As noted by the Emirate historian (Wakilin Tarihi),

Jeedo practice began when Mallam Yakubu was building the Bauchi central mosque during the foundation of the Emirate. Actually, he did not reside initially in present Bauchi, he was building the town from his base in Inkil which is not more than 3 kilometres from Bauchi. It was where Mallam Yakubu operated, it is now where the railway crosses around military road block. That was around 1807 -1808, (OR1-3- INF3)

The above position was also clarified by a female historian among the dignitaries in the religious class who has witnessed over three reigns of Emirs:

Mallam Yakubu actually established the foundation of Bauchi around 1809 and the first project to be executed by Mallam Yakubu is the Bauchi central mosque, which stands right outside the palace, you need snap the pictures to verify what I am telling you since the structure is there. so, the mosque was built. The Emir then appoints the Jeedo to maintain the new mosque (OR1-3-INF5).

From the above two accounts by *INF3 and INF5* , there is the belief about the beginning of the Jeedo as related to when Mallam Yakubu was building the old Bauchi Central Mosque at the foundation stage of the Emirate. He instituted the Jeedo as the caretaker. As such, the Central Mosque is fundamental to each activity related to Jeedo practice, ranging from cleaning the mosque before each prayer, supplying water for

prayers, social work and other tasks. Further significance of the Jeedo in the Central Mosque lies in the rank and function of the Jeedo in the affairs of the Mosque based on the significance attached to the Jeedo similar to other titles in the Emirate council.

From the activities of the Jeedo, there is a high sense of attachment to the mosque and the duty being carried out is also evident. The mosque therefore serves as a link for both bonding and linking social capital between Jeedo practice and its objective by providing the basis for practice. It also serves as linking social capital between the Jeedo and the larger community. Furthermore, the relationship between the Jeedo and the Chief Imam is also historical. For example, when the Emir was the Chief Imam, the Jeedo was the third in the hierarchy at the mosque but eventually when the Imam was appointed the relationship became collegiate (Furbey et al., 2006; Garrod & Jones, 2009; Jackman & Miller, 1998; Mellor & Shilling, 2010; Putnam, 2001b; Wood, 1997). It is clear that Jeedo practice has been around during the building of the old mosque in Bauchi, as part of the transformation of Bauchi into an Islamic Emirate after the Jihad. The Jeedo was therefore among the Islamic institutions established by the first Emir of Bauchi, Mallam Yakubu. Thus, it has been the structure established towards purifying the mosque and upholding the sanctity of Bauchi as the spiritual centre of the Emirate. Therefore, the relationship between the Jeedo and the Central Mosque is rooted in the history of the Emirate. The performance of their duties in the mosque significantly contributed to the religious perception accorded to the Jeedo, which over time is seen as many as a route to spiritual fulfilment. In addition, the Jeedo has both political and historical significance, as revealed by the information, which might also account for the respect and solidarity that attracted more people eventually to join. Importantly, it points to power relations along with the Chief Imam, the Chief

Muezzin and other deputies in the performance of duty to the Emir. From the duties, the Jeedo chief derives influence and enjoys solidarity for the network as a means to an end, namely the preparation of the elderly women to die in grace. This clarifies the earlier assertion from a preliminary finding that the Jeedo is not related to a women's struggle. With regard to power relations, the Jeedo shares much similarity with the Zunde system in Zimbabwe, which reveals the likeliness of a rigid set of rules and hierarchy for control. Finally, the Mosque building relates to the safety net offered to members by serving as a forum for the congregation, which is vital for the practice.

4.11.4 The Influence of the Emirate

In an FGD on the problems of the elderly in Bauchi and how these problems might be approached through the Jeedo, a participant among the male chiefs *INF35* cautioned that,

The Jeedo is entirely the business of the Emirate, as such all matters in relation to the Jeedo were important to the Emirate and are adequately treated by the palace based on the approval and consent of the Emir.
(OR1-4-INF35)

During a session with the members, the position of the Jeedo in the palace of the Emirs was described by the (Sarkin Fada), a high Jeedo chief as,

During meeting with the Emir in the palace, the Jeedo has her place to seat, next to the chief imam and is consulted by the Emir duly on relevant matters of the elderly, the mosque, and other household assignments
(OR1-4-INF9)

This was further confirmed by a female historian inside the Emir's household according to whom,

The importance attached to Jeedo within the Emirate resulted into series of adjustments in both role of the Jeedo, and how to address her. This added importance and eventually transformed the Jeedo into a leader for the old women in various activities, within the house hold in addition to her role in the Mosque. Furthermore, she is named and respected like any other title in the Emirate, like the 12 most important titles of 'ubandoma' 'galadima' 'baraya' 'wambai' 'maji dadi' 'marafa' 'madaki' 'sarkin yaki' etc (OR1-4-INF5)

Further inquiry with the Emir that began the Jeedo provided much variation across the responses. However, most accounts maintain that Mallam Yakubu began the Jeedo:

Like the first Jeedo, because of the importance of the title, most of the INF7s were directly turbaned by the successive Emir's. For example, the first Jeedo was turban by Yakubun Bauchi, then Sarkin Bauchi Ummaru the second by Yakubu Maigari the third Maje Wase dan Umaru fourth Sarki Adamu Sulaeimanu, after the one at Ganjuwa died, while Sulaimaniu was the one that turbaned the current Jeedo (OR1-4- INF8).

According to the INF7 during an interview at her chambers:

The Emir keenly shows concern on our activities. Every month we report to the Emir and even submit our requests. Any month that we happen to be absent or present our report, the Emir immediately request to know how we are doing and provides all our needs and requests (OR1-4-INF7).

Another chief also explained that,

In the month of Ramadhan, bags of sugar, rice milk, oil, millet and soap are given to us every Ramadan, which we sit-down and share. Whenever we need anything, we request from the Emir (OR1-4INF22).

There were various accounts that traced the origin of the Jeedo from the Emir's household with more references to the Emir's wife. The first was as follows:

In Bauchi among the wives of Mallam Yakubu there was one called “Yaya” she is the daughter of Sarkin “Kauran Namoda”, known as Muhammdu Namoda. She is a granddaughter of Usman Dan Fodio, who significantly encouraged the Jeedo practice in Bauchi due to the awareness she has of a similar practice form her grandparents (OR14-INF3).

Another account was that,

While studying before the Shehu as young man, Mallam Yakubu have stayed long enough to be qualified as a resident student of the Shehu’s household. Based on that, he was married to the first great granddaughter of the Shehu, known as Yaya, the daughter of Sarkin Kauran Namoda. Consequently, Yaya was influenced by Nana Asma’u from whom she copied the Iyantaru and probably adapted it as Jeedo, as her positive contribution towards protecting women in Bauchi Emirate (OR1-4-INF2).

This was further confirmed and elaborated by the INF3:

Every Friday, Yaya gives elderly women lessons and then the women will enter the Mosque, clean it and supply water. Afterwards they will enter the main compound were the grave yard of Mallam Yakubu is situated, to sanitize it and put things in order within the compound. Gradually one of the women was assigned the title ‘Uwar Jeedo’ and gradually called Jeedo (OR1-4-INF5).

Further explanation from an account by an elderly woman from the royal family was that:

In the past there was an old woman called “Uwar Sarki” (a joke for Emir’s mother) she leads all the old women in various activities. However, from the reign of ‘Maje Wase’ it was considered in appropriate and misuse of concept, to refer to any woman, as the Emir’s mother. It was ordered that

the name be changed and be renamed like any other title in the Emirate.
As a result, it became known as Jeedo (OR 1-4- INF4).

Information from *INF35, F9, INF5 and INF8* accounts above shows the role of the Emirate on the Jeedo practice as that of subordination and loyalty. This relationship and its influence is supported by previous studies (Miller, 2011; Kirmayer, 1994; Owlijoot, 2008; Mpedi, 2008). In relation to Jeedo practice, the Emirate can be seen as being protective of the practice with recognition and appropriate powers attached to the title of the Jeedo. This dimension of relevance is supported by the study of Biesele and Howell (1981). Hence, power relations have further implications for the relevance of the practice. It is also a matter prestige to have access into the emir's quarters and founder's grave, as observed during the participation by the researcher. The information from *INF7* and *INF22* above explained the Jeedo as an office through which the emir maintains the Central Mosque, supports the performance of specific duties for his wife and a way of extending his good will to the women who follow the Jeedo, signifying social capital availability. However, the availability of social capital is far from being supportive of the elderly in actual terms. Information from *INF3, INF2, INF5 and INF4* shows a slightly divergent account of the origin of the practice, which portrays the Emir's wife as a more relevant contributor to the survival and sustenance of Jeedo practice. In these accounts, it was held that, among the wives of Mallam Yakubu, one was the granddaughter of Shehu Usman, the Caliph of Sokoto, and Commander-in-Chief of the Caliphate. She happened to be a princess known as *Yaya*, the daughter of Sarkin *Kauran Namoda Muhammdu Namoda*. She was married to the founder of the Emirate (Malam Yakubu) by the Caliph as a mark of the recognition of being an outstanding student.

Yaya, as the Emir's wife, was said to have maintained the tradition of utilizing older women in the Emir's house hold, as obtained in the Caliphate. Yaya was also said to have maintained a good relationship with Nana Asma'u after demise of the Caliph, Shehu Usman. While she was in Bauchi, Yaya and Nana Asma'u maintained correspondence. In line with tradition of the Caliph's lineage, Yaya was also well educated and copied the *Iyantaru* from Nana Asma'u as well. She established classes for women in the Emirate and personally gave lessons every Friday. After the lessons, older women would then enter the mosque, clean it and supply water. Afterwards, they entered the main compound to sanitize and put things in order. Gradually, one of the women was assigned as Uwar Jeedo and gradually called Jeedo. Her role became a tradition and subsequently, whenever one *Uwar Jeedo* died, the wife of the Emir would appoint another Uwar Jeedo. This was formalized by putting on a hat (*Malafa*) and the rest of the older women followed the Uwar Jeedo henceforth. When the title was well established, the Jeedo then appointed her own administrative structure and procedure to continue as the Jeedo extended to other mosques in the Emirate. Subsequent Emir's wives also utilized the Jeedo. In the past, she was called the "Uwar Sarki", which was a joke for the Emir's mother. She led all the old women in various activities. However, with changes in regime, precisely from the reign of 'Maje Wase', it was considered inappropriate and a misuse of concept to refer to any woman as the Emir's mother. It was ordered that the name be changed to Jeedo like any other title in the Emirate. As a result, it became similar to the twelve most important titles in Bauchi like the 'Ubandoma', 'Galadima', 'Baraya', 'Wambai', 'Majidadi', 'Marafa', 'Madaki', 'Sarkin Yaki', etc.

It is also evident from the account of INF8 that successive Emir's in Bauchi have played a significant role in the institutionalization and sustenance of Jeedo practice. These include Sarkin Bauchi Ummaru, Yakubu Maigari, Maje Wase dan Umaru, Adamu Sulaimanu and Sulaimanu based on the importance attached to Jeedo practice in the history of the Emirate. The importance attached to the practice also resulted into a series of adjustments within both roles of the Jeedo, as well the concept used to address her. This eventually added relevance to the titles in the palace and consequently transformed the Jeedo into a respected title similar to any other important one in the Emirate. It is clear that the relationship between the Jeedo and the Emirate has sustained the Jeedo as an institution influenced and controlled by key figures like the Emir and his wife. This implies a relationship of subordination owing to which the Emir gives out generously to the Jeedo. The result of this good will has been the basis of the safety net and smooth running of the group structure.

4.11.5 The Appointment of the Jeedo

As a traditional title, there is a standing procedure for turbaning the Jeedo. According to the Emirate historian,

The title of the Jeedo originated from the wife of the Emir as an errand woman and she appointed one "Dadi Babba". Gradually one of the women was assigned as "uwar Jeedo" and gradually called Jeedo. It became a tradition, such that any time the Jeedo dies, the wife of the king appoints another Jeedo by putting the "malafa" on her head and the rest of the women follows her. The Jeedo then appoints her own structure to continue as the Jeedo (OR1-5-INF5).

Similarly, another informant expressed the view that,

Old women gather at the palace, to arrive at a consensus on who's name should be submitted to the Emir, for appointment (OR1-5- INF4)

On the criteria to qualify to be one, INF7 the Emirate historian added that,

To arrive at consensus on who is the most highly devoted (in ibadat), patience, less worldly, and not greedy, then she will be voted (OR15- INF-11).

The information obtained from INF4 above provides the procedure for the selection and appointment of the Jeedo as an exclusive responsibility of the Emir. INF-11 accounted for the qualities needed for the potential Jeedo leader to possess. INF5 accounts for a democratic process of nominating the next leader within the Jeedo group for onward submission to the emir for appointment. Further, the account by INF-2 reveals that the Jeedo is normally appointed through an elaborate ceremony by the Emir's wife. The same informant further explained that when a Jeedo chief dies, names are submitted for consideration through the wife of the Emir. Selection is based on a criterion and the most qualified old woman selected. Requirements to be fulfilled include knowledge of Islam, patience, spiritual qualities, leadership ability and being in menopause. The title is never for younger women. The account by INF2 reveals possible variations across regimes in the process of the appointment of the Jeedo leader. While in some it is democratic, in others it was done by the Emir's wife, while in most it was done by the Emir. What is important here is the root of the practice in the emir's palace signifying the relevance of the title. However, INF3 noted that most of the Jeedo leaders did not last long, since they were mostly very old at the time they were appointed. Historically, there have been over 25 Jeedo. The Jeedo chief leads all the elderly women. Currently, the Jeedo is led by an elderly woman of 104 years old. The Jeedo leadership has mostly been of *Fulbe* origin, except for the pioneer Jeedo, who was dark complexioned and heavily built. INF4 acknowledged that so far only

one Jeedo, the first one to appointed, happened to have dark skin. All the Jeedo leaders have been known to be fair-skinned.

After the appointment is confirmed by the Emir, the Jeedo also appoints a local structure across the Emirate of up to 70 titles, including a deputy Jeedo for each district mosque in the Emirate. The aim of the structure is to ensure proper spiritual guidance and the execution of the Jeedo in the administration of the mosques. This network has continued to expand with more elderly women joining daily to obtain care and spiritual satisfaction. The network is ever growing, corresponding to an increase in the population of elderly women in Bauchi. This growth is supported by studies from the reviewed literature (Bloom et al., 2015; Bloom, Boersch-Supan, McGee & Seike, 2011). Importantly, the Jeedo structure forms the basis of protection through exchange between loyalty, good will and a platform to engage in mutual benefit and spiritual fulfilment. It appears to offer more protection beyond some similar models reviewed , with more prospects.

4.11.6 The Influence of Pious Women on Jeedo Practice

Various accounts on the religious and spiritual significance of the practice indicate that the adherents share similar ideas and beliefs that make them enthusiastic about it.

According to INF 7,

The practice is related to Ummu Suda, also known as Ummu Mihjan. A black woman who sweeps the mosques regularly. But was not seen after a while by the prophet. He asked and was told that she has died. The prophet asks why he was not told and commanded to be shown her grave, where he went and prayed for her (ORI-6- INF7).

Another account on the influence of pious women to the Jeedo was related by second INF21,

In the history of Prophet Musa (AS), Ali-Imran was the custodian of Beitul Muqaddas, there was a woman, the daughter of Ali Imran and mother of Maryam who promised that, whatever she gave birth to, will be dedicated to service of the Mosque. This includes washing, cleaning, and fetching water for rituals. When she gave birth to Maryam, the promised of dedication was fulfilled, and Maryam was devoted the service of the mosque, and that is to be seen as the origin of the Jeedo practice from Islamic literature (OR-1-6-INF21).

A similar account also explained that,

It began with the history of Maryam (AS) in relation Ali Imran, instead of given him a son Allah gave him a female. She has not been on menstrual period, neither did she ever seen a man. She is fed from Janna for working in the mosque. It was also for working in the mosque, that she was rewarded with Isa (AS). When people ask her how born a child without a father, she was ordered by Allah to allow the son to reply. For every enquiry he replies, and they became convinced, about God because of His miracle power (ORI-6-INF32).

From the above accounts by INF7 -INF21 and INF32, the history of Umm (Suda) Mihjan influences the Jeedo practice, as it relates how a black African woman, was so endeared to the Prophet (SA) that he went to her grave and prayed for her with the assurance that she was in paradise for sweeping the mosque (The Pen Publishers, 2015). Due to this example, the Jeedo adherents do not compromise any bit of an act in the mosque and community that will add to their devotion; examples like that of Umm Mihjan makes them more committed to Jeedo activities. The account bi INF 21 reveals another influence that has been the basis of the Jeedo from most accounts is

the history of Sayyida Maryam (AS): she served as a model based on the meaning derived through the history of Prophet Musa (AS) and “Ali Imran”. All the adherents hope to be rewarded by Allah similar to the promise fulfilled to the mother of Maryam (AS) for dedicating her daughter to the service of the Mosque. For this act, it is believed Allah blessed and rewarded Maryam (AS) with Prophet Isa as a son (AS). These two examples of pious women exerting tremendous influence on meaning constructed around the Jeedo that has always remained a point of reference in what they do. This view of the Jeedo is supported by studies from the reviewed literature.

4.11.7 The Relevance of the Jeedo Practice

On the relevance of the Jeedo to eldercare, the informants revealed both the religious and spiritual significance of the practice. According to a chief,

We believe in serving the cause of Islam through various engagements in the Jeedo practice, based on the perception that, at this point of old age, we derive the satisfaction that we are worshipping to be rewarded later when we die. It is a kind of preparation for dying (OR1-7- INF11).

Similarly, another response outside the group opined that,

The Jeedo serves as an easy way to serve Allah through participating in the mosque and maintaining the grave yards. They have a network and come out all to practice the Jeedo. Sometime in large numbers, engaging in different activities that are spiritually rewarding (OR1-7- INF24).

The practice is also believed to be a purely religious activity. According to the INF3,

Most of the Jeedo is centred around activities leading to spiritual reward in terms of what each member can appease and obtain as reward from Allah. The Jeedo is not for worldly gains its main purpose is spirituality, based on the belief of a reward from Allah in the hereafter. The more one

engages in the Jeedo, the more reward from Allah one gets, and the better for one to farewell before Allah in the hereafter (OR17- INF3).

Another interviewee also in this respect added that,

Basically, they don't rely on the Jeedo for material items. And at this age the women are more interested in their engagements with the Jeedo activities especially for spirituality and company of others, this way they avoid loneliness and idleness (OR1-7INF21).

Because of the meaning attached to the practice, it was learnt from mosque officials that,

They Jeedo members are enthusiastic and every Friday you see donations from Jeedo of over two thousand Naira and above including items. They donate to the mosque. We use their donations to change the bulbs and other minor repairs (OR1-7- INF2).

The information obtained from *INF11*, *INF2*, *INF3* and *INF21* reveals the spiritual relevance of Jeedo practice to the adherents. In this regard, Jeedo shares similarity in motive to “Suluk”, since for the Jeedo also the goal is to pave the way for death in faith (Iman), which is also called the road to mysticism in suluk. The Pondok system also shares similarity with the Jeedo in the aspect of spirituality and a platform for devotion (Sufian & Mohamad, 2013). From the accounts of *INF24* and *INF3*, further relevance of Jeedo is indicated as a religious activity that connects the adherents to spiritual fulfilment due to the physical tasks performed in the mosque and other aspects of duty to the Emirate. The members always display a high sense of solidarity to the Jeedo. It is clear that individual members demonstrate a high sense of attachment to the mosque.

Thus, Jeedo practice has provided a medium for the older women to be devoted spiritually as a preparation for death.

From the above theme and sub-themes, the relevance and meaning of the Jeedo can be inferred as a practice involving spirituality and sacrifice for the hereafter which has stood the test of time for over two hundred years. With such a deep root in history, political structure and religious practice, the Jeedo is an institution to be considered as a part of the way of life in Bauchi. The argument in relation to the objective of the present study follows that, since the practice relates to elderly women in the age of aging, where challenges in social protection are notable, especially in Nigeria, ignoring the practice may not be best option. The best option remains to gear up the practice into a stronger safety net in line with the recommendations by previous studies. From the foregoing, the social capital potential of the Jeedo is also manifest. The basis of it with religion as an important single in Jeedo practice is supported by numerous studies (Putnam, 2001). Therefore, Jeedo practice provides a platform for bridging social capital for older women from diverse backgrounds within the Emirate. Bridging in the Jeedo practice crosses boundaries within the adherents similar to the position of Marwick, (2012), about the public domain. However, while religion in the Jeedo provides the framework and platform for social capital formation in agreement with Putnam (2001) and the World Bank, (2015), social capital formation remains a potential quality similar to financial capital unless it transforms into an investment that results into an outcome (Holzmann et al., 2005; Putnam, 2001b).

Finally, the relevance of the Jeedo practice to the elderly women is in line with a significant number of positions about the promotion of wellbeing in the elderly situations

the practice within the informal category of safety net (Bensaid, 2014b; Neal Krause, 2015; Okabayashi, Liang, Krause, & Akiyama, 2004; Syed, 2016).

4.12 Participation And Satisfaction In Jeedo Practice

The two themes on participation and care in the Jeedo practice answered Objective Two, which sought to understand and discuss the practices and the dimensions of the satisfaction derived. The subthemes that emerged for the first theme in relation that objective was participation in the Jeedo hierarchy and the functions and rituals involved.

4.12.1.1 Participation in the Jeedo

Various participatory sessions, FGDs and interviews were held to examine the details of the practice. The participation also enabled the researcher to reconstruct the list of titles in the hierarchy, including the function of each title in the practice and how participation in the Jeedo occurs through the hierarchy, the four categories of participants and other details learnt. From the information on participation, the types of care and the nature of satisfaction were established.

4.12.1.2 Hierarchy and Functions

The interview with INF 8 accounted for the details of the hierarchy, which enabled the researcher to organise the ranks and functions of the Jeedo high council (Majilis). There were 14 top ranks and functions, which formed the highest body in charge of making decisions for the religious activities to be carried out. The council is also in charge of various roles in the day to day administration of the Jeedo. In addition to the high council, there were also 56 other ranks each also with a title describing the role

she plays in the activities of the group making up a circle known as *Iyan Sabain* or the core seventy. Jeedo chief INF7 provided more information on the core activities performed by the structure with reference both to the high council, the core seventy and the other members as,

cleaning of the mosque, cleaning of grave yards and Eid ground, “Janaiza” or cremation of destitute women, fellowship of sisterhood through genuine relationships within the Jeedo network, sympathy towards needy , social intercourse with individuals and families such as assisting in delivery of babies, financial contribution for the sick, Intervention in marital disputes and feeding the public during Ramadhan, etc. (INF7).

A description of the structure was provided by the INF 8:

We are always seventy in number within the hierarchy, each with a specific function for both religious needs and care of the co members while the rest are ordinary members but still obtain full attention and care. We share responsibility based on specialization because we have different past knowledge and experiences as well as status (PS5-1 INF8-).

For other members, interviews were held individually and each member described his position and duty in the practice. This was summarized in the Table 6.6:

Table 6.6
Summary of Ranks and Functions

Jeedo leader	The first and foremost rank that is at the peak is the Jeedo and also the spiritual mother of all the elderly women in the Emirate, (PD2-2- INF7)
JAKADIYA:	Sweeping and ambassador to Jeedo, intelligence on the intruders and non-members who enter the mosque. receiving complaints, receiving and mobilization of donations, payment of teachers who teach at the schools and protocol. I also watch any new member recruited by supervision (PD2-2- INF8)
GALADIMAN JEEDO:	Sweeping and to escort the Jeedo
and hold	her bag
and ensure her safety anywhere	
during visits and distribution of items to	the elderly women
(PD2-2- INF9)	
WAKILIN JEEDO	Sweeping and always beside the Jeedo in the mosque during prayers and to ensure her safe return and comfort in performing religious duties, and that Jeedo section of the mosque is locked and everywhere is secured to also make sure donations are handled properly. (PD2-2- INF10)
SARKIN MUSULMIN JEEDO:	Sweeping and responsible for organizing prayer session at gatherings involving the elderly women, clarification on all matters of devotion, and personal attention to the individual members, she is well versed in Islamic knowledge. (PD2-2- INF11)
SAKIN MALAMAI:	Sweeping and also leads prayer sessions, preaching and give teaching to new members and answer questions. (PD2-2- INF12)
ZAGIN JEEDO:	Sweeping and in charge of Jeedo items and tools her work is also to carry the hat for Jeedo to all occasions. Takes part in the washing of dead bodies. (PD2-2- INF13)
KILISHIN JEEDO	to spread the mat for Jeedo where she sits in the mosque clean it and maintain it my children (PD2-2- INF14)
MADAKIN JEEDO:	Sweeping and coordination of branches across the Emirate and leads in prayers. (PD2-2- INF15)
TAFEEDA JEEDO	Sweeping and destitute cremation and other not by the Jeedo. (PD2-2- INF16)
MADAKIN JEEDO	Sweeping and other assignment by the Jeedo. (PD2-2- INF17)
SARDAUNAN JEEDO	Sweeping and other assignment by the Jeedo. (PD2-2- INF18)
SARKINFADAN JEEDO	Sweeping and other assignment by the Jeedo. (PD2-2- INF19)
MATAWALLEN JEEDO	Sweeping and other assignment by the Jeedo. (PD2-2- INF20)
56 OTHER MEMBERS	Sweeping and any other assignment by the Jeedo(PD2-2- INF21)

Within the hierarchy, first there is the Jeedo, secondly the 14 senior chiefs, thirdly the 70 congregation members, and fourthly, members within the structure that spreads across different sections of the Emirate. Participation in the Jeedo is hierarchical made of four categories of participants. First, the Jeedo is the leader. Second, is the Jeedo council made up of 14 members who are closer to the Jeedo. Then the third group is made up of fifty-six women responsible for carrying out the activities as assigned to them by the Jeedo. The fourth is the category known as ordinary sweepers (*masu sharar masallacii*). This is line with other research studies (Cancian, 1965), which also found that religious groups are hierarchical and all interactions with the group must observe the hierarchy.

Specifically, the first and foremost rank at the peak is the Jeedo leader, who is also a mother to all the members. The Jeedo is followed by the Jeedo ambassador (*Wakiliya*), who represents her in her absence anywhere. The ambassador always sits beside the Jeedo in the Mosque and ensures her safety and comfort. She escorts her and holds her bag and ensures her safety anywhere. She is also in charge of the Jeedo section of the Central Mosque, which serves as the Jeedo chambers as well. The ambassador also ensures that the Jeedo section is properly locked and everywhere is secured. Finally, she ensures that donations are handled properly.

Next in rank is the chief administrator (*Sarkin Fadar Jeedo*), whom everyone reports to and who in turn reports to the chief protocol (*Jakadiya*), who finally reports to the Jeedo for the final say. In addition, *Jakadiya* provides intelligence on intruders and non-members, who enter the mosque. She receives complaints, mobilizes and receives donations, pays teachers who work at the Jeedo School and sees to the general protocol

activities for linkage and bonding within the group. She also watches any new member recruited by supervision.

Next in rank is the higher leader for the faithful (amirul mu'miniun or Sarkin Musulmin Jeedo). This title in the high council is usually given to an older woman, who is more versed in Islamic Knowledge. She is followed by the chief priest (Sarkin Malamai), who leads prayer sessions, preaches (gives fatwa) and answers questions. Next is the chief vizier (Matawallen Jeedo); her work is to carry the hat for the Jeedo to all occasions. Other special assistants are General Chief Adviser One (Talban Jeedo); Chief Adviser Two (Sardaunan Jeedo), who is the chief adviser on recruiting new Jeedo members and recommends who joins or not; Chief Adviser Three (Tafeedan Jeedo); Chief Advisor Four (Madakin Jeedo) does whatever is assigned; Chief Adviser Five (Zagin Jeedo) and Chief Adviser Six (Kilishin Jeedo) spreads the mat for Jeedo where she sits in the mosque and in addition cleans and maintains the space for her. Others are two additional members of the high council who also act according to the assignments given to them. A general duty that cuts across all the ranks in the hierarchy is participation in the sweeping and attending to devotional activities in the congregation. Hierarchy is important to the members, as the lower ranks are supervised by the higher ones (Ahmad, 2005).

From the above information obtained from interviews with INF7 and 8 and other members on the structural hierarchy of the Jeedo, it is evident that the duties performed by the high council, the core 70 and other Jeedo members situate Jeedo practice within the classical conception of social capital (Woolcock, 1998; OECD, 2007 and Salazar, 2016; World Bank 1999 Maselko et al.). It is also in line with the African traditional

values of 'Simunye', which refers to the spirit of oneness derived from traditional religious practices manifested in assistance to destitute and family members, thereby serving as a safety net.

4.12.1.3 Rituals

An account of the rituals involved in the Jeedo practice was provided by INF8. Activities are assigned daily and weekly by an *Ustaz* appointed and maintained by the Jeedo chief. These include, among other things:

- Fasting Monday and Thursday
- Daily Islamic teaching
- Assignment of *nafila*
- Assignment of supplications (*zikr*)
- Qur'anic recitation on Thursday as required by the Jeedo (complete)
- Caring for members in preparation towards their final transition
- Visits to sick members
- Submission of prayer requests to people embarking on the Hajj
- Sweeping and cleaning the mosque
- Cleaning graveyards and the Eid ground
- Janaza of destitute women
- Assisting in the delivery of babies
- Immediate contribution for the sick
- Intervention in marital disputes (PD2-3- INF8).

The core activity of the Jeedo is sweeping and cleaning the mosque. Every Friday, the Jum'at Mosque is swept according to the portions assigned to each member by the Jeedo based on rank in the Jeedo hierarchy. The higher-ranking members are assigned the inner chambers of the Chief Imam and the Emir's portion. The allocation extends outwards up to the last ranks, who attend to the toilets. The cleaning of graveyards and the Eid ground is also shared in a similar manner. *Nawafil* are performed in the mosque after sweeping every Friday and are all contained in a book possessed by each member. Activities are assigned on daily and weekly bases by the Jeedo and the priest (*ustaz*), who are both male and female. Prayers assigned include fasting, (*nafila*) on Monday

and Thursday and individual devotion (tasbih), depending on the number and type requested from an adherent (from 1000 to any number). Weekly prayers for forgiveness (istigfar) are offered from Thursdays through the week. Daily Islamic teaching of the Qur'an and exigencies are conducted by the teachers covering subjects like Fiqh and Tajweed. Qur'anic recitation is undertaken daily according to various grades. Other books covered are rules of prayer (Qawai'dul Salat). The prayer requests of adherents are submitted to persons that are soon to embark on the Hajj or Umrah in the holy lands of Mecca and Medina as the last wish of most adherents.

When a member is overwhelmed by sickness, the Jeedo is notified and special attention and caring through intensive prayer and medical attention are provided. Sick members are always accompanied by a member or two in preparation towards their final transition. Visits are without limit and the Jeedo visits at regular intervals. The internment of destitute women is a daily routine for the members.

4.12.1.4 Important Recitations in the Jeedo Practice

Table 6.7 *recitations*

Recitation	Purpose	Period
<i>Suratul Amma to Fatigha</i> Individual <i>Tasbih suratul mulk</i> we recite depending on how we are requested (1000) All of us in Jeedo does that any amount. then we share <i>Istigfar</i> is shared weekly on Thursdays to be done through the week. (PD2-4- INF8)		As requested
Zikr supplication to Allah and praise to the Prophet Muhammad (SAW Subhanaka gainaka indallah Laila hazbuka nurullah praise to Allah and the prophet. (PD2-4- INF-22)	supplication	On the way to mosque on Friday and Eid day
'Subhaanaka Allaahumma wa bihamdik, Ash-hadu allaa ilaaha illaa ant, Astaghfiruka wa atoobu ilayk,' . (PD2-4- INF23)		To seek forgiveness for sins,
La ilaha illallahu wahdahu la shareeka lahu, lahul-mulku wa lahul-hamdu wa huwa ala kulli shai in qadeer'. (PD2-4- INF24)		To be shield from satan in old age

Allahumma anta Rabbi la ilaha illa anta, Anta Khalaqtani wa ana abduka, wa ana 'ala ahdika wa wa'dika mastata'tu, A'udhu bika min Sharri ma sana'tu, abu'u Laka bini'matika 'alaiya, wa Abu Laka bidhanbi faghfirli innahu la yaghfiru adhdhunuba illa anta. (PD2-4- INF25)	For protection and to avoid fitna in duniya and akhira
La hawla wala quwawata illa billah (PD22-INF8)	As requested
HasbunAllahi Wani'mal wakeel. (PD2-4-INF26)	to leave all affairs to Allah
Allahumma salli ala Muhammad, Wa ala ali Muhammad, Kama sallayta ala Ibrahim, Wa ala ali Ibrahim, Innaka hamidun majidAllahumma Barik ala Muhammad Wa ala ali Muhammad Kama, barakta ala Ibrahim, Wa ala ali Ibrahim Innaka hamidun majid. (PD2-4- INF27)	As requested As requested
Bismillahillazi la yadurru ma'asmihi syaiun fil ardi wa la fis sma'ie, wahuwas sami'ul 'alim. Bismillahillazi la yadurru ma'asmihi syaiun fil ardi wa la fis sma'ie, wahuwas sami'ul'alim. . (PD2-4- INF28) every day, Mulk Falq and Nas. (PD2-4- INF8)	for rotection

On the way to the mosque every Friday, Jeedo adherents chant songs of praise (to Allah, the Prophet (SAW) and the Jeedo). Similarly, on the way to the Eid prayer, this old version is recited “*Subhanaka gainaka indallLah Laila hazbuka nurulLah*”. Presently, the singer sings according to the prevailing situation, for example, during Ramadhan the songs differ from ordinary days. To seek forgiveness for sins, the recitation is ‘*Subhaanaka Allaahumma wa bihamdik, Ash-hadu allaa ilaaha illaa ant, Astaghfiruka wa atoobu ilayk,*’ meaning: O Allah, you are free from every imperfection; praise be to You. I testify that there is no one truly worthy of worship except You; I ask Your forgiveness and turn to You in repentance.” To be shielded from Satan in old age, the recitation is ‘*La ilaha illallahu wahdahu la shareeka lahu, lahul-mulku wa lahul-hamdu wa huwa ala kulli shai in qadeer*’, meaning: “None has the right to be worshipped but Allah (alone), Who has no partner; to Him belongs the

kingdom (of the universe) and for Him are all the praises, and He has the power to do everything.” The recitation is 100 times.

For protection and to avoid fitna in duniya and akhira the prayer recited is *Allahumma anta Rabbi la ilaha illa anta, Anta Khalaqtani wa ana abduka, wa ana 'ala ahdika wa wa'dika mastata'tu, A'udhu bika min Sharri ma sana'tu, abu'u Laka bini'matika 'alaiya, wa Abu Laka bidhanbi faghfirli innahu la yaghfiru adhdhunuba illa:* meaning, O Allah! You are my Lord! None has the right to be worshipped but You. You created me, and I am Your servant, and I am faithful to my covenant and my promise as much as I can. I seek refuge with You from all the evil I have done. I acknowledge before You all the blessings You have bestowed upon me and I confess to You all my sins. So, I entreat You to forgive my sins, for nobody can forgive sins except You.” This is recited 100 times. Another recitation is *La hawla wala quwawata illa billah*, meaning there is neither power nor ability save by Allah. To leave all affairs to Allah, the recitation is *HasbunAllahi Wani'mal wakeel* Allah (alone) is sufficient for us” (Qur'an 3:173). By leaving your affairs to Allah, by depending upon Him, by trusting in His promise, by being pleased with His decree, by thinking favourably of Him and by waiting patiently for His help, you reap some of the greater fruits of faith and display the more prominent characteristics of the believer. Other recitations frequented by the Jeedo adherents are *Allahumma salli ala Muhammad, Wa ala ali Muhammad, Kama sallayta ala Ibrahim, Wa ala ali Ibrahim, Innaka hamidun majid* *Allahumma Barik ala Muhammad Wa ala ali Muhammad Kama, barakta ala Ibrahim, Wa ala ali Ibrahim Innaka hamidun majid*, meaning: O Allah, send prayers on Muhammad and on the family of Muhammad, as You sent prayers upon Ibrahim and on the family of Ibrahim You are indeed worthy of Praise full of Glory. O Allah send blessings on Muhammad

and on the family of Muhammad as You sent blessings upon Ibrahim and on the family of Abraham You are indeed worthy of Praise, full of Glory. *Bismillahillazi la yadurru ma'asmihi syaiun fil ardi wa la fis sma'ie, wahuwas sami'ul 'alim. Bismillahillazi la yadurru ma'asmihi syaiun fil ardi wa la fis sma'ie, wahuwas sami'ul'alim*, means: In the name of Allah which has not been condemned by His name on earth and in the heavens, and He has heard and knows. The three Qur'anic Chapters frequently recited by individuals in the Jeedo are Suratul Amma to Fatiha every day, Mulk, Falq and Nas. The objective of reciting these verses is for protection.

As noted by Stark and Finke (2000), religious capital 'consists of the degree of mastery of, and attachment to, a particular religious culture', which includes both the skills and knowledge needed to fully integrate into the religious community, as well as the emotional attachment that keeps members engaged in the practice.

Before old women come from all over and wait for the Jeedo before entering the mosque. After the prayer they come to the Palace to form a circle and circumvent around the Jeedo (lailaya), and mostly they wear simple white dresses. You need to see them on Friday as they come out early morning on Friday. They gather more during Ramadan to listen the (Dalalaini) Tafseer after wards they enter the palace where another preacher attends to them and then they will be given items for breaking the fast (iftar) and they will leave. (PS51- INF3)

The account from the information given by INF 8 above shows that religion remains a significant factor in all the aspects of the Jeedo practice (Turner, 2010; Mellor & Shilling, 2010). Jeedo practice serves as a unifying factor among the older women by uniting them into a single moral community. This is more so when we consider the collective nature that the spirit the Jeedo instils in the adherents, binding them together

during collective activities and rituals similar to the position of Watkins (2011). It is clear that the nature of religion in Jeedo practice has implications for the amount and quality of the social capital that can be mobilized from the rituals of the practice. Therefore, an analysis of Jeedo practice through the lens of social capital has the potential to improve our understanding of the role of religious involvement in eldercare, because identifying the social resources available to those who attend religious services may shed light on the putative mechanisms underlying the Jeedo-eldercare connection and how to improve it

4.12.1.5 Important Dates

According to the INF7, some dates are more relevant to Jeedo practice:

Daily we gather to praise Allah and his messenger (zikir after Subhi). Sometimes we pray in Jeedo house and sometime in the mosque or our chambers. Within the week, day and night we are engaged in one activity or the other, Thursday; afternoon is only for preaching by guests ustaz, Thursday; early morning we recite the Quran. We dedicate this day for prayers by sharing the Qur'an into 10 10 chapters to each member, then we recite and compile the number of recitations after wards. Annually, in a year, we have important dates like 15, 8 and 27th of Ramadhan. After Ramadhan we observe sitta shawwal. Rajab is important to us. During the Rajab we are also completely busy in devotion (PD-2-5-INF 7).

The account by INF 7 above shows that the month of Rajab is important to Jeedo practice. During this period, the members are more occupied in devotion. Throughout the month, a total of 3,334 units of prayer circles (rak'ats) are performed in addition to Ramadhan Prayers (*salat al tarawih*). Further, other supplication and extra devotional prayers (*nawafil*) were performed according to the ability of a member. During Rajab, each member performs 4-unit circles of prayer (rak'at) each

accompanied by 300 repetitive utterances of praise and glorification of Allah (tasbih). Mondays and Thursdays are for fasting. The most important day is Friday. Gathering is compulsory unless one is sick. Thursdays are dedicated for prayers and 10 chapters (hizbs) are shared to each member. After recitation, the results are compiled on the following Thursday. Usually on Thursdays, there is no sweeping. The only activity is preaching by guests and the Jeedo teacher (ustaz).

Within the important dates in Jeedo practice, the period of Ramadhan appears to be the busiest in terms of devotion. From the opening of the *tafseer* on the 1st Ramadhan, activities are designed to engage all the members from dawn to dusk (Subhi to Asr prayers). The routine for the period of Ramadhan are arrival at the mosque very early in the morning to listen to the dalalani, followed by the offer of prayers in the Jeedo chambers and conducting social work-related activities. Paying attention to any issue arising from reports within the Emirate, especially where the attention of the Jeedo is needed includes bereavement and loss of children or as the case may be. By 15 Ramadhan, prayers are offered by the Jeedo. On this day, the whole congregation and other elderly women are invited from across the Emirate to attend the congregation (addu'ar sha-biyar). It is quite an elaborate occasion. Similarly, on 8 Ramadhan, another prayer is offered by the Jeedo in the spirit of the month. Finally, for the Ramadhan period, the 27th is very important for the Jeedo, as it marks the end of the blessed month, which most members assume may be their last on earth. Therefore, the spirit of devotion and line of activities are very tedious on this day. Then sitta shawwal and fasting every Monday and Thursday, in addition to compulsory Qur'an recitation every day of the week throughout the year.

From the above accounts and in line with Stark and Finke (2000), the motive for Jeedo practice is religious and what qualifies for membership is the willing to sacrifice one's time to participate in the practices through an unlimited attachment to the religious culture of the Jeedo. Therefore, as a religious social capital, it is an institution built on spiritual relationship on Islamic norms that shape the practice into a functional avenue of spiritually and active engagement in devotion among the elderly women in preparation for death. The formation of social capital in this regard can be understood through a basic indicator of trust, volunteerism. Within the Jeedo at the level of the individual, trust is produced as social capital through the belief by the members that the Jeedo is supportive and act in the interest of one, thereby serving as a safety net.

4.13 The Dimensions of the Satisfaction Obtained

4.13.1 Protective Support

According to the INF 7,

Aside of the personal assistance, I render to each member from what is available. Within the group, mutual assistance is carried out actively to help one another in the caring aspect. If anything happens to any of us, we contribute immediately, through both prayers and physical resources needed to ensure the satisfaction of that need. That was what has been done by my predecessors before I became the Jeedo, and I must continue and make them satisfied. As we are old and aging, soon will enter the grave. Soon sand will cover our eyes I always like to assist others from the little I have. At this age I feel assisting as a daily life routine. Emphasis on spiritual assistance across members from Jeedo is both Islamic, spiritual, educative and caring for us the members. it assists in our preparation towards the final transition help to one another is also important to me (PD3-1-INF7).

Similarly, in the FGD on the details of the practice, most of the members explained that they received complete care from the time they joined until death from the Jeedo:

If anyone is sick we go to the Jeedo. I feel very sad whenever I miss the congregation in the mosque, it satisfies my inner spirit, that I am serving in the must humble way like sweeping the mosque and helping the dressing of dead ones and other work we do for the sake of Allah here (PD3-I-INF37).

INF 7 IN an interview at the Jeedo chambers explained that as receiver of all complaints:

During congregations, financial contribution is mobilized for sickness and nursing ("jinya"). The Jeedo is also responsible for the hospitalization and care of the member till death. On regular occasions, when a member is sick, the chief Imam is notified, and announcement are made for donation in the mosque. This includes the bills and responsibility of the care needed by the sick (jinya). Others are washing and cleaning of the sick member and proper clothing. where more resources are needed the Jeedo lodge a request to be forwarded to the Emir. The sick is regularly visited while a member or two are stationed with the sick, to assist in taking care of her in the sick role (PD3-I-INF11).

A member testified on the type of satisfaction derived from Jeedo for her psychological wellbeing:

For the benefit and care I receive, the credit goes to the Jeedo and our teachers, may Allah continue to guide us through Qur'an. Today we have recited the Qur'an 16 times, may it save us and our children with baraka bumper harvest and barka in city. Alhamdiuliullahi kaseeran mubarakan Every time I feel worried or encounter a problem from my children or grandchildren I report to the Mallam and prayers are offered which solve our problems, we are always happy about this My problem is that sometimes I am so confused and will not know what or how to do anything, it is only when I come to the Jeedo. here and got preached upon by Mallam

then, I tend to forget everything and feel closer to Allah then my mind becomes light and I will sleep. Later I wake up to perform prayers (nafilas) in the night. Coming here is very useful to me (PD3-IINF36).

Similarly, Jeedo practices serve as way of compensating for the past mistakes in order to die in faith:

This school is important to me because in the past I was worshipping in ignorance, but now I have improved in knowledge and my character as well because I have stopped doing bad things I was engaged in the past. I am now stronger and healthier, and my legs are better. we are serious to come to the Jeedo because there are issues that happened in our youthful days, that we need revisit and ask Allah for forgiveness. It is through the Jeedo practice that we can now worship correctly, and seek for forgiveness as ordained by Allah, whom we only worship. As ordained by Allah we must know him before we worship He Allah. ("Taabuduuni Qabla an Taarifuuni"). So now here we have teachers paid by the Jeedo who help us and lead us to understanding, and even show others. We are grateful to Allah SWT Now I know Islam better, and I have peace of mind. I have learned to pray properly and my relationship with others (muaamalt) has improved too (PD3-I-INF29).

During a sweeping ritual at the mosque, a very old woman explained to me that,

We are happy when we worship in this way, we are happy with this, it raises our spirit and we feel closer to Allah. I feel very sad whenever I miss the mosque. I feel good to come here Praise be to Allah (Alhamdiuliullahi). I always like to come here because I don't have any bad feeling when I am here (PD3-I-INF30).

The information by INF7, INF37 and INF11 explains the role of the Jeedo leader, the congregation and of both the central mosque and the Jeedo to protect the adherents for sickness and material needs. For INF36 INF 29 and INF30, the information implied

psychological satisfaction like company, which reduces loneliness and the feeling of being prayed for, which reduces their experience of aging. This type of support is supported by a number of studies as important for wellbeing in later life (Thoits, 1995; Wills & Shinar, 2000; Melchiorre, Chiatti & Lamura, 2013). Thus, companionship support in the Jeedo is provided as a sense of social belonging on a daily basis. Each member reports on a daily basis and the absence of any member is acknowledged with action taken immediately (House, 1981; Melchiorre, Chiatti, & Lamura, 2013). A finding from the above information implies that many received support carried out through a fellowship of sisterhood within the network. Financial contribution for sickness and nursing (“jinya”) is undertaken to any length both financially and physically. On regular occasions when a member is sick, the Chief Imam is notified and announcements are made for linkage with the larger male congregation for donations both within and outside the central mosque. As argued by Putnam (2000), connections among the Jeedo members has transformed into a protective network through which the concept of sisterhood has been upheld based on the satisfaction derived by the members.

The Role of the general congregation in providing protective support to the adherents is also relevant. The congregation is performed at regular intervals within the Jeedo house, chambers and the women section of the Central Mosque. This also spreads across Bauchi Emirate, with representation at different levels sharing the spirit of membership. Aside the received support in tangible items, help provided is by the congregation as enacted support through supportive actions from teachers, the chief priest and preachers (*Muallims* and *Sarkin Malamai*) thorough responses to questions, give advice, counselling and other consultations to members whenever the need arises in line with the teachings of Islam. Similar to the Fijian norm of *veivukei*, meaning

offering a helping hand, and the veinanumi act of being kind (Ramacake, 2010; Brison, 2007), Jeedo practice tends to make the journey towards the end of life easier and more predictable. This has been possible in daily life situations through outcomes that are positive for each member's wellbeing. Like the Hxaro system, the Jeedo also is a highly protective network maintained by social relationships extending throughout the Emirate based on trust and positive social interactions (Croson, 1999; Lee, Bieseke & Hitchcock, 1996).

From the above analysis, feeling as part of a safety net protection is evident in Jeedo practice through psychological satisfaction, including the company of other fellowship of sisterhood, linkage to the larger congregation's instrumental support in tangible items and the provision of enacted support via supportive actions from the teachers, the chief priest and preachers. However, the capacity of the Jeedo has been challenged by a fall in the good will from the Emirate (see section on challenges).

4.13.2 Religious/ Spiritual Support

Generally, the members see sweeping as the easiest way to accumulate rewards that can serve in the afterlife. Therefore, they are eager to sweep and perform daily Jeedo routines as religious a duty. As noted by the INF2, a community leader in an interview,

Religiosity in the Jeedo, plays a vital role in solidarity within the Jeedo group of elderly women in Bauchi Emirate. The reason is that, they believe that sweeping the mosque is important duty, because any one that remove a stick from the mosque is forgiven by Allah for his sins. Then how about sweeping the whole area. this makes them enthusiastic (PD3-2-INF2).

During the sweeping routines in which the researcher participated, the reasons for sweeping were explained as,

We old people sweep the mosque by learning from the past. It is said that who sweeps the mosque will go heaven, as preached by the prophets especially our leader Muhammad saw) and the Sahaba. the mosque is the house of Allah so sweeping it is full of reward as we were though by our ulama and our parents and we hope to die doing it (PD3-2- INF31).

On how the sweeping is done, INF8, explained to the researcher that,

We start from 7:00 and some people may arrive late to 8:00. We go with the parker, broom and rags to sweep and clean our portions, after wards we pray (Nafilas) in the mosque. We are always seventy titles in number, while the rest are ordinary members. Each member is equipped by the Jeedo with items like brooms and wide tray (faifai). After the sweeping, members stay back to perform Nafilas and recite the Qur'an, then discussed issues relating to the needs of members and after wards the go to the palace to greet the Emir and submit requests through the Jeedo (PD3-2 INF8).

Similarly, another response was,

To prepare for the hereafter with luck and to die in devotion (ibadat), an old woman preparing for transition needs to be engaged specifically in diligent devotion. (nafilas salat siyam and others) (PD3-2- INF13).

On the Jeedo practice and the old women's preparing for transition engagement in devotion (nafilas salat siyam and others) were the reasons given by a member:

Life is easier in devotion for them Most of them die with the shahada due to participation. in all age an old person should be more engaged in more salat nafilas and siyam night and day according to your strength for example the older the less from my experience. But Guidance and education should be continuous (PD3-2- INF9).

According to the teacher of the Jeedo School:

Coming to the Jeedo improves their interrelation (mauaamlat) instead of fighting neighbours it controls them to be patient. It increases their Iman It enable their interaction. The enthusiasm of Jeedo members is impressive. some that are not able to come cry when we visit her. She cries for loneliness (PD3-2- INF21).

From the above information, *INF2* and *INF31* account for the religious satisfaction from Jeedo routine, while *INF2* explains the actual routine of the sweeping. *INF 13*, *INF9* and *INF21* account for more spiritual experiences. This is supported by studies in social support (Neal Krause, 2016; Neal Krause et al., 2001; Phillips, Siu, Yeh, & Cheng, 2008; Robert, Kahn & Antonucci, 1981). Thus, social support in the Jeedo practice can be described as a type of support provided to aid the objective of spirituality and perceived religious engagement. Such support is perceived as instrumental to the adherent's goal of accumulating rewards for the hereafter.

From the above accounts of the interviews, maintaining one's membership in the Jeedo is a value that is grounded in the belief that one day they will be given a proper Islamic burial when the inevitable happens, that is, when anyone is called to join his or her maker. This affirms that religion is the basis of strength of the practice over the years. Further, the main target of engaging in the sweeping of any mosque by the Jeedo is in line with prophetic Sunnah and copying exemplary lives of pious Muslims. Essentially, this core practice is based on various teachings about the benefits of cleaning the mosque. Sweeping is therefore a crucial religious duty in Jeedo practice through which social capital is invested by the adherents to reap later in life. In this regard, the practice significantly shares similarities with other informal methods of social protection for the elderly (Chow, 2009; Chow & Bai, 2011; Xing, 2016) that

have served the interests of spirituality and eldercare effectively. This finding is also in conformity with numerous studies on religious social capital (Furbey, Dinham, Farnell, & Finneron, 2006; Jackman & Miller, 1998; R. D. Putnam, 2016).

Since most of the support in Jeedo exists in form of prayer, devotional guidance, having a platform to congregate and other incentives towards perceived devotional duties, Jeedo practice within the relational perspective of protection and support can be summed up as the resources made available instrumentally to assist the individuals' goal of spiritual devotion. The aim remains to prepare for dying in faith as a contingency and response to a quest for a better afterlife the reason being the quality of social relationships in Jeedo practice, which leads members to believe that there is care and love for them and derive satisfaction as the end result of a sense of belonging to safety is also attained (Melchiorre et al., 2013). Thus, being part of the Jeedo creates a sense belonging to a supportive network. More still, emotional support is also evident, as expressed through an empathic concern during the congregation and prayers offered for individual members. The demonstration of affection is manifested in the immediate mobilization of both linkage and bonding social capital to address any need in relation to the plight of member. This exists in the promotion of love, sisterhood and trust. The ingroup therefore displays intimacy of relationships and care, which are a critical quality of social support (Krause, 2016). Within Jeedo, emotional support exists in greater levels and might be responsible for the lower level of depression among the members (Dong et al., 2010). In addition to the above analysis, participating in the Jeedo routine serves as a link to a wider safety net and a way to invest social capital to reap in the later life. To a person preparing to die, this serves as an effective safety net.

4.13.3 Community engagement

During the FGD on the details of practices, the following were identified as the nature of the engagements by the Jeedo with the Emirate community:

When a person newly embraced Islam we donate, a stranger that died, we donate the white and arrange him for burial for those who doesn't have anyone. We have all the cremation items like stove, bath buckets for ritual birth, we have perfumes (garin magarya). They come to us from the hospital with such cases. We always have bundles of white cloth and a fire pot (kaskon wuta) for cremation we have all the items (PD3-3- INF8).

- *Helping the needy*
- *Visits to the hospitals to offer prayers*
- *Offer special prayers on request by individuals*
- *Offer daily prayers for the society*
- *Offer free iftar food during fasting to the public*
- *Feeding the Friday congregation with food and drinks on Eid*
- *Care of orphans (PD3-3-INF 37).*

The information provided by INF8 and INF37 revealed the satisfaction derived by the members of the Jeedo in community engagement, which they see as a religious duty in form of voluntary assistance rendered to the larger community on request or notification. The main motive is to serve the community for the sake of Allah. Where necessary, resources are requested from the Emir as well as sources from the group. This includes food, clothes, consumables and cash, etc. The activities conducted under community engagements include the internment of women (*jana'iza*) that die without any relative or those in destitution, where the Jeedo ensures that they are properly buried according to Islamic rites. The expenses are also incurred by the Jeedo. In addition, most of the members assist as midwives whenever their services are needed. The Jeedo also intervenes in marital cases, environmental cleanliness and general assistance to those in need, including orphans and the destitute. Therefore, social

capital within the Jeedo contributes in improving the functioning of society within the Emirate (Adler & Kwon, 2000; Keeley & O E C D, 2007; Scrivens & Smith, 2013).

In the history of Jeedo practice, community engagements are rooted in the relationship between the Jeedo and old women that are under her all over the Emirate. It is both a religious duty and a way of enjoying a relationship of good will with the larger Emirate community. This relationship results into voluntarism, solidarity and community service on the part of Jeedo practice. The Jeedo therefore serves as the basis of social capital investment from the Emir, his wife and the Emirate council for elderly interest and the larger community. Furthermore, the maintenance of the mosques all over the Emirate further gives the Jeedo prestige and abundant solidarity from the public for the selfless service.

From the above analysis, the satisfaction derived by the members of the Jeedo in community engagement as a religious duty is the investment of social capital within the Jeedo as a contribution towards improving the Emirate community. This relationship results in a two-way process of voluntarism and solidarity from the community to Jeedo practice. However, the Jeedo currently performs fewer services due to a fall in the social capital available to the practice (see section on challenges).

4.13.4 Networking

The purpose of networking in the Jeedo covers both instrumental and informational support. As noted by a participant in the FGD at the Central Mosque:

With so many members of the Jeedo all striving to get closer to Allah through the Jeedo, the Jeedo is a network of old women spread all over

Bauchi. Every morning information is passed to others immediately through the hierarchy (PD3-4- INF7).

According to a member in an FGD on the details of practices, the current state of Jeedo was described as,

Our networking has made us one even if you have no money and your co Jeedo member has you have no problem. We are seventy in main congregation that sweep but, in the school, we are 750, while for all Jeedo members in the Emirate we are thousands. We relate based on strong ties of sisterhood and care for and protect one another under our leader. We give one another a wide range of items when they need (PD3-4- INF34).

The above two accounts by INF7 and INF34 revealed that the network expands across the Emirate and covers members in all possible dimensions, as noted by the INF7. This session reveals the dimension of care and the importance of the Jeedo practice in relation to the avenue for company, guidance and solace from other members. It also shows that the elderly women have high expectations in relation to the welfare from the practice. From the above accounts, the purpose of networking in the Jeedo is consistent with other studies reviewed (Bourdieu, 1985; P. Coleman & O'Hanlon, 2017; Alejandro Portes, 1998). Thus, in the history of the practice, depending on the context and political climate within the Emirate, the Jeedo has aggregated potentialities in social capital resources into a durable network that has persisted in facilitating informal social protection by its function as an aspect of the social structure. This way the network persists as a safety net. However, networking has also been affected by a fall in instrumental protection due to the availability of less social capital that was traditionally invested by the Emir through good will and reward for loyalty.

4.13.5 Reciprocity

The ways through which mutual assistance is rendered through reciprocal gesture was also explained by a chief during the interview at the Jeedo chamber:

We reciprocate one another's gesture, but irrespective of whether the member has in the past given us or not. It is based on (Zumunchi and Muammlat) on sisterhood. The aim is to reap the reward in the hereafter (akhira). In terms of sickness, bereavement, death, birth or when we receive information we contribute. For fire accident we donate house hold items, we also contribute monthly weekly and daily depending on the need. All of us are one and no one misses a day without a visit to the Jeedo, to know what assistance is need by our fellow members (PD3-4- INF22).

From the above account, it is evident that within the Jeedo, reciprocity “zumunci” exists. It is practiced in form of the exchange of good deeds in sickness, bereavement, fire accident and happy moments. This is usually based on an understanding that such deeds are going to bring returns like an investment after death. This practice goes contrary to the position of Putnam (2001) because the concept of “zumunci” among the internal membership of the Jeedo manifests as delayed gratification until death. Again, unlike the kerekere in Fiji Islands, the exchanges are not expected back in this world, but in the hereafter. Generally, the members indicated contentment with the support the Jeedo offers them whenever they need it. This results into availing them with resources, both material and non-material into active networking, and an unending series of the exchange in items, thereby serving as a safety net.

Another way reciprocity tends to be mobilized in the Jeedo is through obligation and expectation as elements of membership both of which are enforced by prescription, such as weekly contributions, and adherence to the rules of bonding in Jeedo practice.

In this regard, an individual's interest is converted to be in favor of the network. Therefore, bonding social capital in Jeedo practice functions and links each member with a sense of common network identity and provides common norms and values that facilitate cooperation in carrying out spiritual activities (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 1998). This dimension of care in the Jeedo network is also a manifestation of both instrumental and informational through community engagement as a religious duty, which is a vital aspect of the safety net. The Jeedo model as it exists has provided care and satisfaction among the members in various dimensions. It was also evident that it is composed of potential social capital that has been protective and supportive of the adherents. However, eldercare in the Jeedo tends to be one-sided, as the practice is presently done by women. Studies on the Pondok (Abidin et al., 2017; Azliza Azrah et al., 2012) and Hxaro (Biesele & Howell, 1981; Meyer, 2018) have demonstrated more efficiency in eldercare, when both men and women participate. This implies that more inclusive results can be achieved with the social capital within and related to Jeedo.

4.14 Challenges

The theme of the challenge of Jeedo practice relates to Objective Three. The subthemes are challenges from power relations and of formal protection failure in filial duties and the personal.

4.15 Power relations

The FGD on problems facing the practice critically revealed many problems most of which emanated from the Emirate. Specifically, a change of attitude has resulted to a decrease in support from it. As related in one of the accounts, INF7 expressed that,

Our major problem is the lack of regard by the present regime in the Emirate. Our situation now is far less from what obtains during the reign of the previous Emir. For example, our regular visits to the palace are no longer as honoured as before, and we believe it is deliberate from some people who are against the Jeedo (CH4-3- INF37).

Regular entry to the palace as the routine in Jeedo practice has an important meaning as a sense of duty. Denying such a routine can be a painful experience, as complained by a member:

Despite the fact that the Jeedo has her place next to the chief imam within the palace meetings, there is this sudden disregard and change of attitude from the palace towards us, whereas, in the past, the Emir that died the father of this one, enquires about our activities monthly and send gift to us also. He always asks why is Jeedo not around. is she also well. And he helps (CH4-3- INF18).

Another response was that:

For all complaints received by the Jeedo, the resources are not available. In our mosque the bulbs are not functioning, we have to buy each time. The ceiling and standing fans are not working. The mats have won out. There are rules and they have to follow them but yet all this we have to buy (CH4-3- INF17).

Similarly, on Eid occasions, it was narrated by a member that,

In the past, the Jeedo cooks plenty of food for us. Some time we have reserve, but now nothing is given. This Ramadan, we did not receive anything. Not a single penny or item was sent this year (CH4-3- INF 14).

Another chief in council of 14 charged that,

Among all the women in the palace, presently, only one noble entertains us. I think something has to be done. Each time we visit the Emir's palace we will be given excuses, as result for three years we have been refused entry to the inner palace. One day we have entered all the way to the kitchen site, but we were sent back as gate crashers (iyan kwaran) (CH4-3- INF23).

The above accounts by INF18 explain the challenge in relation to power as a major problem, which is rooted in lack of regard by the Emir for the Jeedo, despite the known reputation and solidarity accorded the practice by previous Emirs. For INF 14, the Jeedo is lacking in resources compared to the reigns of previous emirs and limits the activities of the Jeedo. As such, complaints and issues of participants cannot be addressed like in the past and even the Jeedo chambers are in dilapidation. Further, INF23 explained that in addition to lack of resources, there was also a change of attitude from that of recognition to disregard.

From the above six accounts, the challenges highlighted on the part of the Jeedo in relation to the Emirate are numerous most of which emanated from the new regime. Specifically, the change of attitude that resulted from the change in regime has resulted in an acute fall in the usual expression of good will, which has affected the Jeedo through a fall in tangible assistance and the denial of relevant routines and practices within the palace. In addition, there is the sudden relegation of the Jeedo title from the original position it had in the palace to that of a gate-crasher. This has severely affected and weakened the Jeedo. Thus, as a group it has lost significant protection, which implies limitations on the activities of the group with a high tendency in loss of social capital. It is also likely to affect the group by resulting into lesser participation, lesser

volunteer activities and a major fall in the services rendered. This represents a loss of social capital and limits the investment of social capital (Scrivens & Smith, 2013).

Reflecting on the above account, the relationship between the Jeedo and the Emirate has sustained Jeedo practice for over two centuries. Over such a period, it has prevailed within the Emirate as an institution influenced and controlled by key figures, like the Emir and his wife, who both appoint and turban the Jeedo. However, the current relationship implies a grim future for the practice, if it should continue to rely solely on the aspect of goodwill from the Emirate the reason being that this historical relationship has suffered a setback as a potential within Jeedo practice. In line with (Keeley, 2007; Marwick, 2012; Putnam, 2001b) on weak social capital, the current state of neglect suffered by the Jeedo in relation to the Emirate has weakened the bridging qualities of the group, implying bad social capital function. Thus, it has hindered the functional inter-dependence among the two institutions based on a structure of duty and goodwill to function effectively. Importantly, the Jeedo members have become more aware and outspoken about their plight in relation to power and seem ready to challenge those in authority towards improvement by calling for a reversion to rules and the status quo. This seemingly new awareness and position will contribute in paving the way for the eventual transformation of the practice.

4.16 The Challenges of Formal Social Protection

We have medical problems the Jeedo herself is suffering from leg pain and most of us eyes like jakadiya, diabetes, hypertension, hands, sugar, low blood pressure, We cannot afford medical care due to lack of income generating activities that is affecting us because some of us an still manage to do petty deals but most of us have no strength to do anything but for those that are able can do selected business petty one that does not require straight and stress but there's is lack of capita (CH 41 INF32).

From the account above by INF32 and the observations made during the participation, the elderly women in the Jeedo complained of various medical challenges. These include diabetes, hypertension and a host of other issues of health, implying long-term care needs. Such complaints are indicative of a context within which the elderly exist characterized by poor commitment to the provision of formal social protection. Such misery from lack of social protection measures from the government seems to be the reality in Bauchi, like most parts of Nigeria (Bloom et al., 2015). Furthermore, for all the complaints, there was evident lack of access to medical attention, as most of the participants displayed over the counter drugs and testified that they had not undergone any medical test or formal consultation in any hospital. In addition, no attention was received from some qualified medical personnel. There was also no evidence of contact with geriatric services or workers. The medical challenges obviously tend to affect the nature and intensity of devotion among the Jeedo members, as most of them are only absent in the congregation based on excuses related to the medical conditions mentioned. Improving access to medical and geriatric services could go a long way is assisting the members of the Jeedo to carry out their devotional tasks with relative ease.

4.17 Failure in Filial obligation

The belief by most of the respondents during the FGD that filial obligation is well observed in Bauchi was supported by another respondent:

Filial obligation is ok in Bauchi the fault is from political leadership. the Jeedo is weak now, because the cosmopolitan agency has encroached and weakened the Jeedo practice (CH4-2- INF32).

But another respondent added that:

Filial obligations are not properly observed we tend to care less for the elderly parents in preference for our wives. We buy more for the wives, than for our mothers despite the teachings of Islam. We are very weak in this regard (CH4-2- INF37).

In an FGD on the general overview of the elderly in Bauchi, a respondent opined that,

Despite the rise in number of the population of the elderly in Bauchi the society is not active on the welfare of the elderly we love the elderly, although enough filial obligation may be observed (CH4-2- INF32).

While INF32 and 31 upheld confidence in the observation of filial duties by children in Bauchi , which revealed an overwhelming state of satisfaction, the account by INF 37, 33 and 17 revealed the position of the majority of the participants, who said they were left without any potential source of social support for their wellbeing except for the Jeedo practice. The finding on the state of filial obligation falls in line with most studies of the elderly in Nigeria (Aboderin, 2012; Babatunji et al., 2015; Cadmus & Owoaje, 2015; Dimkpa, 2015; Okoye, 2012; Oyinlola et al., 2017; F Togonu-Bickersteth, 2014; Wahab & Adedokun, 2012). This finding implies that failure of filial duties might affect participation in the Jeedo by dividing the attention needed in spiritual engagements into other non-devotional assignments. The reason being that the elderly women may have to look for sustenance to augment what they obtained from the Jeedo in addition to their spiritual pursuits.

4.18 Personal challenges

There exists the personal dimension of the challenges faced by each member, ranging from loneliness and regret over past events sometime accompanied by regrets, according to one member. According to a respondent, the company of others and

counselling from the teachers is of great assistance for her peace of mind and as an avenue for obtaining guidance for her devotion. Some of the women in the Jeedo were ignorant of both the ritual involved in observing the daily prayers and other aspects of *Ibaadat* prior to joining the Jeedo. This problem cuts across most of the women interviewed during both FGD at the women school and the educative sessions held on the problems of the aged in Bauchi. According to a member:

The Jeedo school is important to me because in the past I was worshipping in ignorance but now I have improved in knowledge and my character as well because I have stopped doing bad things I was engaged in the past. I am now stronger and healthier, and legs are better. Alhamdiuliullahi. I always like to come here because I don't have any bad feeling when I am here".

Another dimension of the problem relates to both children and grandchildren that will be left behind after death. Such problems include criminality, drug addition, unemployment, immorality and poverty. According to participant:

“My problem is the orphans I will leave behind. In fact one of them is a notorious criminal and a perpetual offender who is always in or out of prison. He was just released again yesterday. I always pay for damages and litigation and even now as he comes out he has stolen phones from his younger brother belonging to people for repairs. Sometime people pity me but other times I have to pay This affects meas he is thief and thug always in violence. The little one is the one helping me, but he is not well health wise”(INF22).

From the above accounts, there exist personal dimensions to the challenges faced by the Jeedo adherents. These were anxiety, loneliness, resentments, restlessness and regret over past events. Therefore, some of the elderly participants faced both psychological and spiritual problems further exacerbated by ignorance of the rituals

involved in observing the daily prayers and other aspects of the Islamic religion. Most complained of spiritual discomfort as a problem that cut across most of the women interviewed. This finding is consistent with the finding from FGD at the women school and women chambers of the Central Mosque. Another source of anxiety discovered in the account of INF21 relates to both children and grandchildren to be left behind after death. Such problems include children and grandchildren in crime, youth violence, theft, drug addition, unemployment, immorality, poverty and other vices.

4.19 Phase Iii: The Transformative Phase

This section presents the analysis of the participatory research. The objective was the transformation of the problems highlighted from Objective Three during problem identification as the challenges facing Jeedo practice (see the section on challenges facing the Jeedo practice on data analysis and findings). To fulfil both the research question and Objective Four, a reflection may be worthwhile. As stated in the literature, PR has different goals, depending on the context. Analysis of the PR in this section considers: the shortcoming of the existing model of the Jeedo due to a number of factors related to the support and fall in the expected roles of relevant actors in the affairs of the Jeedo. The phase achieved the transformation of the Jeedo through dialogue, where the community and the researcher together produced critical knowledge and the results were immediately applied to the concrete situation perceived.

4.20 The Introductory Session

Building from the exploratory Phases I and II and the close relationship that has been established and the problems discussed in focus groups and interview sessions, the research transited into the transformation stage. This stage was the major part of the PR phases. For the commencement of the phase, all the stakeholders were made to interact intensively in order to build a closer relationship on the issues highlighted in early sessions. Trust and willingness to collaborate are essential to foster effective collaboration. The trust and willingness to collaborate was achieved. Therefore, an essential pre-requisite for the project to succeed was established. It was a rather smoother transition. In attendance were the Jeedo high council community leaders, Emirate staff, the history and research officer, previous discussants in the FGDS, officials of JNI and Central Mosque officials. The introductory session was the beginning and each member introduced and afterwards pleasantries and jokes “*wasan kaka da jika*” were exchanged. Each participant had the opportunity to crack some joke and there was laughter and pleasantries. Some jokes were also said about the Emir and inner house as well as the Jeedo. At the end of the jokes session, all the participants were not only able to remember other participants’ names correctly, but also got closer as they had to work together to break the time record. Both expressed their appreciation and indicated the willingness to continue.

At the beginning of the PR in the JNI headquarters, the history and research officer was dominant and controlled the meeting. His outstanding knowledge of the history and experience on Emirate affairs made him a major contributor as well as a facilitator. In addition, he represented the Emir in all the sessions. Therefore, his suggestions were considered to be the best plan to be implemented by the Emirate, the Central Mosque

and government institutions as well as the Jeedo members. For example, in the meeting that preceded a problem-sharing session, it was the history officer who suggested that the Jeedo members should have a new arrangement, which could be explored for better cooperation and the potential of being strengthened for better support. The Jeedo members agreed with this suggestion and showed their willingness to attend the next meeting. Another meeting was fixed for the next week to allow the Jeedo make consultations and gather enough support from the structure outside the Central Mosque.

In the next meeting, there was a discussion about the new arrangement and how to mobilize relevant bodies and individuals towards exploring the possibilities of improving on the challenges facing the Jeedo. At this point, there was resistance from a chief, who insisted that nothing could be done about the Jeedo because it would amount to disloyalty to the emir. A few others also shared similar positions, but the majority acted based on the problems identified earlier about the need of the expanding the aged population in Bauchi. This was based on the optimism that the emir would be convinced since he was adequately represented. A view that was generally shared was a consensus about the abundance of social capital that could be mobilized. The participants had a common view that inactive social capital needs to be put into action. From this point, the PR focused on a collective action on ideas related to the improvements. This attitude was a significant support, which enabled a suitable situation to arise to implement the PR. The community leaders played a major role. A supportive attitude was significant in ensuring the success of the participatory project, the debate and the resolution on the issues of power between community leaders and Jeedo members showed that the latter did not necessarily agree with all the community

leaders' ideas. Instead, they decided on the activities based on which one was greeted enthusiastically by most of them.

4.21 Collaboration

The next session of the PR involved brainstorming mind-mapping aimed to generate ideas with general reference to the previous sessions and FGDS, which enabled knowledge sharing and minimized the confusion, since the issues were clearly discussed. The objective now is to search for effective ways to support the options for the Jeedo. The researcher began the session with a reflection about what was discussed previously on the issues raised about the challenges and prospects of the Jeedo, in relation to social capital in Bauchi and above all the power relations that were prominent in the challenges facing the practice. This discussion brought about new insight into how the specific problems faced by the Jeedo could be tackled. The researcher further encouraged the Jeedo representatives to share ideas by focusing more on the problems in relation to an earlier session at the Jeedo compound. Both Jeedo and stakeholders expressed ideas on the way out. The mind map-brainstorming session revealed alternatives for developing a new safety net model. Initially, the Jeedo mentioned empowerment. When the other stakeholders shared their ideas, bigger and varied ones came out. New ideas involving the stakeholders in addition to external agencies and donors eventually came up. These include the role of the Sharia Commission, external donors, the state government and, above all, the Emirate.

4.22 Construction of Knowledge and Addressing Issues

Building on the knowledge obtained from previous sessions, the stakeholders agreed that, in any attempt to understand the Jeedo and possibly interfere, the influence of the

Emirate must be considered. Through the exploratory phase and initial interviews mentioned earlier, influential institutions and individuals in relation to the practice were identified. These were institutions like the Emirate council, the Central Mosque, “Jama’atu Nasril Islam”, the Sharia Commission and individuals like the Emir, his wife, the Jeedo leader, the Chief Imam of Bauchi and the Chief Muezzin. Others were also identified in relation to knowledge and as community leaders. Yet, others were significant individuals in the Emirate and within the State Government that influence Jeedo practice. These include state institutions, clerics and individuals respected within the community. Most of the identified institutions and individuals work with the Jeedo either through the Emirate or the Central Mosque. The Jeedo had earlier contacted this category prior to the session and their support and consent were sought for and approved. Therefore, the Jeedo had prior discussions with most stakeholders and the Emirate and the JNI, informing them of the PR and the action taken to propose a model.

4.23 Applying Knowledge to Strengthen the Jeedo Safety Net

From the previous session of the PR, knowledge about the current relations with the Emirate was the most mentioned problem by the Jeedo members. The major issues were decreasing support and difficulty in accessing the Emirate. This session considered how the Jeedo could propose a new approach for support within their limitations and difficulties. The occasional support from the Emirate was not adequate and not necessarily effective. However, it was believed that the proposed approach based on the collaboration between the Jeedo and the stakeholders mentioned would empower Jeedo to cover even more elderly women and men. This would be done by mobilization potential social capital across the Emirate. Consequently, a proposed model made based on functional interdependence among the Emirate, the Sharia

Commission, the Jamatu Nasril Islam and the Jeedo structure emerged. Thus, roles were defined and assigned to each part of the new model towards the mobilization and investment of social capital.

The JNI proposed a model that would be based on the intervention of the Sharia Commission towards effective mobilization of funds from Zakat; secondly, various mosques across the Emirate should donate towards maintaining the aged in the Jeedo practice. The involvement of the Sharia Commission towards mobilizing Zakat to assist the Jeedo was paramount, but a problem lay in the fact that the commission had been reluctant. The major problem here, according to a JNI official, was to ensure that people cooperated in paying Zakat. As such, the commission had to take responsibility. In addition, across local mosques the commission should ensure that local Imams were not in conflict with this proposal. He concluded that this could have been the best model if the commission lived up to expectation, because even the Zakat that came from commission alone could solve the problem of the elderly in Bauchi.

Meanwhile, representatives of the emir and the Emirate council were consistent in the desire to mobilize budgetary allocation from the state government through monthly deductions for the Jeedo. He also focused on the importance of the full involvement of the Emirate in any transformation of the Jeedo. In addition, they agreed that social change had necessitated the need for a change, especially the expansion of the network and need for more elderly social protection. The emir's representative maintained the willingness of the now sensitized Emirate on the need for transforming the Jeedo into a wider safety net, rather than the previous conservative position. The Central Mosque as the host of the Jeedo chambers was extensively discussed from the problems

highlighted at the explorative stage. These were dilapidation, poor maintenance of the chambers and the Jeedo vehicle, as well as issues relating to equipment. Eventually, the role of both stakeholders and Jeedo were spelt out and proposed which they called *sabon Jeedo* that would be a pilot project subject to evaluations and further adjustments with time.

Both the Jeedo and the stakeholders decided to utilize social capital from various sources. The Zakat was selected in addition to government budgetary intervention and the revival of sources from within the Emirate council. They agreed to meet the emir with the proposal. This session enabled the Jeedo and the stakeholders to collaborate in revealing new ideas to support the aged. Once a participant mentioned an idea, it stimulated the other participants to think about related issues. Therefore, the production of a new Jeedo model was achieved based on the realization of the power inherent in potential social capital. Social capital had been in abundance in the Emirate but was not invested. With the steps taken, social capital would now be invested in ways that would be persistently supportive of the elderly, resulting in a safety net irrespective of gender through the Jeedo.

4.24 Roles

Most of the suggestions obtained were focused on the need to utilize the Jeedo practice as a wider safety based on the prospects analysed. The major emphasis in all the sessions was more on power relations between the Jeedo and institutions that exert influence on the practice and have to be fully involved and utilized. Improving the power relations had the prospects of mobilizing the capacity of the community social

capital for necessary investment between the Jeedo and the institutions that relate and exert influence on the practice towards a wider safety net.

4.24.1 The Emirate

The Emirate Council's role was projected as follows:

- To revive the support for the Jeedo better than it was in the past due to the increase in the size of the elderly women in the Emirate.
- To maintain the Jeedo as a potential institution for eldercare and guidance of elderly women and men.
- To collaborate with the state government in producing welfare budget support through the social services ministry.
- To reshape the Jeedo into a responsive institution that can cater for the whole elderly as its members.
- To sensitize the new Emirate regime about the relevance of the Jeedo as vital institution of eldercare in the Emirate (PS5-5-INF38).

4.24.2 The Sharia Commission

The role of the Sharia Commission was spelt out as follows:

- Taking responsibility for the aged
- Providing a legal framework for the new inclusive model
- Creating modalities for the male section to be created on the existing structure
- Ensuring the collection of zakat effectively
- Sensitizing local mosques and Imams on the need for special fund for the aged
- Supporting local Jeedo in their local mosques (PS55-INF38).

4.24.3 The JNI

The role of the JNI was spelt as:

- Ensure the provision of a comprehensive list for of people to be paid zakat based on which we can recommend the Jeedo
- Address the various problems confronting the elderly through effective sensitization about their medical needs and welfare generally
- Monitoring and evaluation
- Regular advocacy for support
- Involving external donors (PS5-5-INF38).

4.24.4 The Central Mosque

To accommodate more activities of the Jeedo which implies more attendance of elderly women, the Central Mosque was to be the venue for the Jeedo chambers. The role of the central mosque was spelt out as:

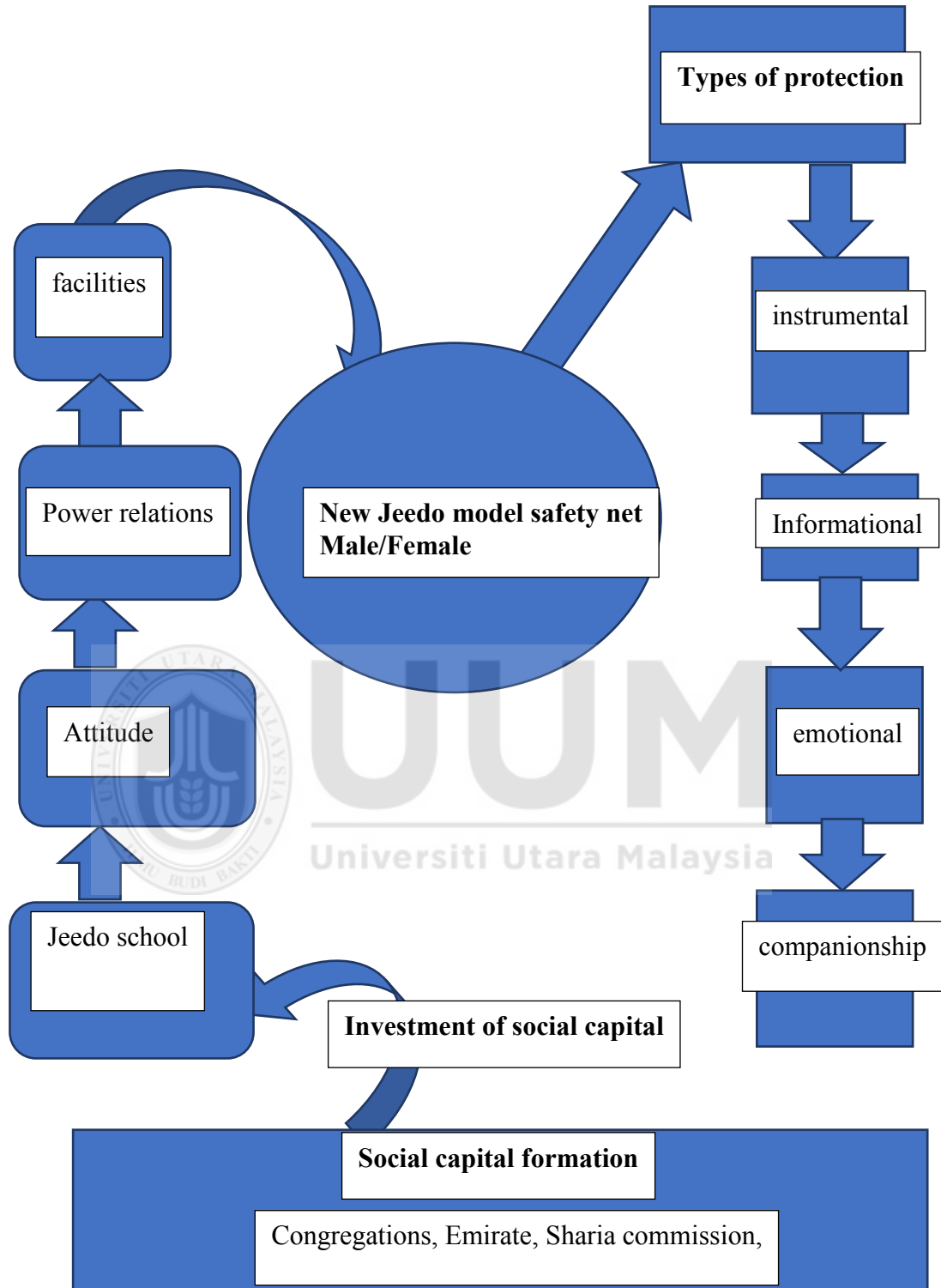
- Providing clerical guidance on all the suggestion made for the improvement of the Jeedo as wider safety net based on the position of Islam
- To ensure that any innovation suggested remains in accordance with Islamic teachings
- To collaborate with local mosques in implementing the mobilization of necessary social capital and resources
- To work closely with the Sharia Commission on matters relating to the Jeedo
- To sanitize the Emirate community on the need to advance eldercare issues (PS5-5-INF38)).

4.24.5 The role of the Jeedo School

The school to support the Jeedo practice on a wider scale to sustain more elderly people following the suggestions made in FGD at the women school:

- The need for more classes for both males and females
- The finances to run the school structure
- Employment of more teachers
- The provision of more facilities like classes and toilets (PS5-5-INF38)
- The employment of professional geriatric councillors
- The provision of adequate means of transportation (INF 33PS5-5-).

Figure 4. **The New Proposed Old Age Care Model of the Jeedo Safety Net**



Source: Author's design

4.24.6 The Components Of The New Model

Social capital formation: Social capital in this work refers to both classical and traditional values and Islamic social capital and exists under the general concept of Islamic charity and the principles of filial obligations, the role of the Emirate community, Zakat and Sadaqah. What is new in the model is the additional sources to be mobilized from mosques, the public, external donors and the revival of the good will from the Emirate. Sources of social capital are independent from Jeedo practice but relates to it in a manner that shapes the quality and quantity of what is potentially available for investment in the practice. Therefore, it is expected that a change or adjustment in power relations, religious position or traditional norms can result to a change in the capacity and role of Jeedo practice. The relevance of Islam the north-eastern Nigeria as the basis of social action makes religion an important factor in understanding the social process. Thus, the funding and availability of informal social protection might to a large extent derive from Islamic social capital. These include the practice of filial obligations, Zakat and Sadaqah. Importantly, based on religion, it is easier to mobilize social capital for investment towards the plight of the aged in Bauchi. However, while religion provides the framework and platform for social capital formation, the major argument by the study is that the capital remains a mere potential similar to non-invested financial capital unless it is transformed into an investment that results into an outcome.

4.24.7 Social Support and Social Capital investment

Investment of social capital in Jeedo practice is mediated by the quality of the interaction between the structures of power and the Jeedo within the Emirate. Power and spiritual relations mediate between what is available from social capital through

the Emirate community, Sharia Commission and the Central Mosque for administration and availability to Jeedo members. Therefore, changes in the quality of relationships might affect the volume of investment and the overall capacity of the Jeedo as a safety net. The link between the formation of social capital and its investment as social support, which transforms into safety net, is related to how its investment from the congregation can be made in everyday interactions as linkage and bonding between and for social relationships structured by the Jeedo group membership. This way the bonding and linkage of social capital will be readily delivered through the group structure. The consequence in turn will lead to particular experiences, resulting in meeting the needs of spiritual devotion and tangible support from the collective resource(s) available from social capital. Thus, a connection between social capital and the provision of social safety nets can be ensued through investment in socially supportive institutions, like the Jeedo school attitudes and programs that can positively impact on the wellbeing of the elderly. For example, the mobilization of adequate resources from Zakat for elderly care to be persistently applied for the supply of the basic needs of the elderly can serve as a safety net.

4.24.8 Jeedo practice as a Safety net

This is the result accruing from social capital investment in supportive actions. This safety net is dependent on the persistence of the social support derived from social capital. For a successful operation of Jeedo practice, the delivery of a safety net is conceptualized as the sum of the relationships between social capital, social support and a social safety net. The justification for this is because Jeedo practice involves both sources of support and the sustenance of the safety nets that emerge from the relationship. Thus, Jeedo practice is dependent on the availability of the tangible,

psychological and spiritual resources available from the Emirate community through the Jeedo structure. Increase in the number of Jeedo members without a corresponding increase of resources from social capital can weaken the capacity of the Jeedo as a safety net. Therefore, its capacity and efficiency is dependent on the amount of social capital invested in the practice.

4.24.9 Types of Protection

The new model is for both males and females. The types of protection relate to perceive, receive, informational and companionship supports types that can enable members to pursue the practice in a better state of relative wellbeing.

4.24.10 Generated Hypothesis

1. Jeedo practice can serve as a better model of Safety Net with the improvement and re-orientation of values towards the needs of the elderly.
2. Improvements in the Jeedo practice system can transform into improvements in the quality of safety nets for the elderly in Bauchi Emirate and North-Eastern Nigeria.

4.24.11 Conclusion

This chapter has given a detailed discussion about data presentation, analysis and discussion. It also included the transformation phase in which Jeedo practice was proposed as a wider more inclusive safety net.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter of this research discussed the participatory research findings and the transformation of Jeedo practice proposed as a wider safety net. This chapter highlights methodological and theoretical contributions and the implications and limitations of the research. It also discusses viable suggestions on the prospects of Jeedo practice serving as a model, which offers a wider safety net for the elderly and includes the direction for further research, research contributions and Implications.

As evident in the data analysis, results from the participatory research provided some contributions to theory, methodology and eldercare options for Bauchi and similar Emirates:

1. The study provides sufficient evidence that informal methods of social protection can be strengthened as alternative coping strategies in eldercare.
2. The study responded to recommendations by previous studies towards a focus on informal eldercare methods.
3. The study contributed to the literature on the narrow focus on the solutions to the needs of the elderly by studies from Nigeria on solutions to protect the elderly.
4. The study contributed to the dearth of studies using the participatory approach on the later life on the Nigerian elderly.

5. This study provided a practical demonstration of how informal social protection can provide solutions to the gaps experienced in eldercare in Nigeria through social capital.
6. The study has shown that solutions to the needs of the elderly should be context-specific in line with the constructed meaning of old-age within a given society. In relation to the Jeedo, this study explored the origin of the practice to obtain what it means and how such meaning determines the practice as eldercare.
7. The study clearly demonstrates how the socially constructed meaning of old age influences eldercare strategies within a given society.
8. The study contributed towards striking a balance between the the ethnocentric character of religious analysis in sociology by involving Islamic religious teaching and practices in understanding how religion and spirituality extend to elderly care.
9. The study contributed in profiling the literature for studies in Nigeria on the role of religion and spirituality among Nigerians.
10. The study provides evidence on the dimensions covered in later life for care within the context of a religious group.
11. The study provides a departure from conservative perspectives on studies on the Islamic values of welfare and social justice.
12. The study contributes to proposals on religious (Islamic) practices and institutions to cover more contemporary areas of social protection and justice.
13. The study sensitizes Muslim communities towards the challenges of aging.

5.2. Theoretical Contributions

The current global surge in the population of elderly persons in the context of poor the provision of both formal and informal social protection makes the search for optional safety nets be strengthened for eldercare relevance. The research has theoretically contributed in strengthening a historically meaningful and culturally relevant safety net for the elderly through Participatory Research methods in various ways.

First, a newly explored conceptual definition of old age evident in the Jeedo is the seven by seven theoretical determination of age. The theory is full of symbolism and religion around which old-age seems to be constructed and perceived.

Second, Jeedo practice has been explored and theoretically analysed through the lens of social capital, social support and social safety net theories.

Third, the theoretical analysis of the available social capital in Jeedo practice led to one of the major contributions of this study, which is the use of social capital and social support to highlight the possibility of delivering an effective and wider safety net. This was conceptualized, developed and empirically tested through the participatory process. The results revealed that participatory research can improve the situation of the elderly as a marginalized group in Nigeria.

Fourth, this study has clearly demonstrated that social capital abounds in Jeedo practice. However, it remains a potential capital unless delivered or transformed into a specific outcome or experience towards the welfare of individuals or groups; specifically, through the appropriate attitude and behaviour in the case of the elderly. This further revealed the importance of supportive behaviour in relation to social capital utilization for safety net actualization.

Fifth, this study contributes towards the inclusion of methods from Islam and African traditions into the sociology of ageing and social capital theorizing. In practice, it has provided relevant information on how to improve informal eldercare through the creation of safety nets within the research setting and possibly beyond. This research has added to the literature towards the intensification of studies on the social protection systems of older people in Africa.

Sixth, previously much of the academic literature on informal social protection came from western and American societies, with more from Asia in recent years. Therefore, understanding informal systems, such as Jeedo, has brought about the understanding of traditional methods from the African point of view. In this regard, this research is especially relevant with reference to studies that contribute towards our understanding of the survival of elderly people. Furthermore, the strengthening of indigenous informal safety nets might go a long way in bridging the gap currently experienced in the social protection and care of the elderly.

Finally, findings from a research in Jeedo can lead to a more comprehensive analysis of the role of a safety net in social protection and its availability in a traditional non-western setting. It can also enable the evolution of a model of informal eldercare within traditional settings similar to the place of the study.

5.3. Methodological Contributions

The methodological contributions of this study are that the researcher used a combination of Paulo Freire's participatory epistemology and qualitative methods to explore and discuss how Jeedo practice can better be mobilized towards more inclusive

eldercare. The participatory design adopted to explore the Jeedo has successfully demonstrated how the method can mobilize change within a traditionally conservative community.

5.4. Implications for Jeedo Practice and Aging Policies

The research findings have brought to light the relevance and potentialities inherent in traditional practices that could be mobilized towards the plight of the elderly. This could be an option to be utilized by policy makers to explore similar practices across Nigerian societies. This study will be useful to policy makers and other Emirates in northern Nigeria as a responsive model demanded by the population aging. The research is also important because a major breakthrough in elder care can be achieved if attention is given to religious values and traditions within native environments, such as Jeedo practice. This is most important now with the evident failure of most Governments in the provision of formal social protection. The findings of this study will assist the social service administration in policy formulation and legislation for suitable and feasible methods of a social safety net for the elderly.

Practically the research is responsive to the inadequacy and complete absence of a statutory formal social protection for elderly persons in most countries including Nigeria. In line with the reviewed practices of informal social protection across various societies, religious and cultural values, the research has provided an answer to the unavailability of a safety net for the elderly in north-eastern Nigeria through the consolidation of informal sources into safety nets.

5.5. Implication for Further Research

This study is on the need to strengthen the elderly safety net using Jeedo practice as the unit of analysis. The researcher used social capital social support and safety net theories to analyse the prospect of the practice in the delivery of a safety net for the elderly. Future researchers need to explore other informal practices that share similarity prospects in eldercare across different societies. Another area of suggestion for further research is that future researchers should focus on more action-oriented and mixed methods, i.e. combining qualitative and quantitative and action-oriented research methods to enable the development of more subjective safety nets for the elderly and also obtain rich and empirical data that aid in the transformation of the situation of the elderly. In addition to the above, future researchers should consider both genders towards the provision of safety nets because the participants in this study were mostly old women. The seven by seven theoretical determination of old age appears to be a new concept to old-age definition, which should be further studied to examine the implication of the theory to the elderly definition of eldercare and other issues that may be harmful in the application of the theory to old-age.

5.6. Limitations of this Study

Part of the limitation of this study is that it concentrated on only one Emirate within northern Nigeria. It is therefore restricted to only Bauchi Emirate and to elderly women.

5.7. Conclusion

The study provides a proposed picture of Jeedo practice as a unit of study. The findings support the theoretical proposition that social capital and social support theories can

interact to provide an explanation of a safety net and answered all the questions raised in the previous chapter. Participatory research was conducted with Jeedo adherents and the stakeholders of the practice. The results from the participatory findings provided support for the key theoretical propositions adopted in the research.

5.8. Recommendations

The answer to the challenges of failure in formal social protection calls for a renewed focus on the prospects of informal social protection. Its strategies are potentially indispensable sources to be mobilized in addressing gaps in elder care. To this end, strengthening informal coping strategies in addition to religious values could be easier and more effective due to historical importance and meaning. To strengthen the potentialities of informal social protection, there is the need for capacity building through investment. For example, the establishment of waqif properties for the purpose of generating money for use by the elderly, such as financial support, subsidizing and enhancing their capabilities. Since religious networks are among the most effective coping strategies, there is the need for the protection and rejuvenation of religious principles that lie at the heart of social security. To this end, the State should play a leading role by setting up a support framework for the mobilization of these values. The exploration of opportunities should be engaged to develop innovative arrangements that can link informal sources to resources to cope with vulnerabilities in old age.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Appendix 1

(Sample of Questions and Interview Guide A" For The Emir Of Bauchi Or A Representation)

Interviewers Name

Actual Date of the interview

Beginning of interview

Ending.....

Full address and venue of the interview

Historical background of the Jeedo

1. When did the Jeedo practice began in relation to the history of Bauchi Emirate?
2. Which Emir began the Jeedo and why?
3. Why does the elderly have such a consideration by the Emirate?
4. What was the original motive?
6. How was the practice sustained in the past?
7. Has the original concept change?
8. What are the factors responsible for the changes?
9. Can the Jeedo utilized for elder care on a larger concept?
10. How does the Emirate intervene through resources needed by members?
11. Is the Jeedo self-sustainable?
12. What are main sources of funds and items?
13. Have you notice an increase in the population of the elderly in recent years across the Emirate?
14. Are there any explanations to the increase?
15. what are the major problems faced by the elderly in the Emirate?
16. How have you been coping?
17. Are there initiatives for sourcing of resources to improve the Jeedo?
18. How would you describe the fulfillment of filial obligation in the Emirate?
19. What are your reasons?
20. Can funding from Islamic practices of zakat, Sadaqah, beital mal, venture philanthropy and waqif be applicable in the Jeedo practice?
21. How can this be attained?

Appendix B (Sample of Interview Guide „C“ For The Jeedo Leader)

Interviewers Name _____
Actual Date of the interview _____ Beginning of
interview _____ Ending

Full address and venue of the interview _____

Personal Characteristics

1. Sex:
2. Age
3. Highest Educational Attainment
4. Ethnic Origin:
5. Marital Status
6. When did the Jeedo practice began?
7. Under which Emir?
8. Is the Jeedo a religious duty?
9. Please explain?
10. What are your main activities?
11. What are your specific activities?
12. What are other activities?
13. No of members in the Jeedo
14. Are there available records?
15. Hierarchical organization of the Jeedo
16. Rules of succession
17. General rules
18. Types of sanctions?
19. Sources of funding
20. Contribution by members
21. Meetings
22. What is the current work the Jeedo engages in?
23. How long were you the Jeedo?
24. Do you think the Jeedo is supporting the elderly?
25. How supportive is the Jeedo?
26. How do you relate with your members?
27. Do you engage your members in income generation?
28. If yes, what are the types of activities
29. What are the specific forms of assistance you offer to the elderly?
30. Does the Jeedo possess the capacity to provide the needs of the elderly?
31. Can you explain the major impediments?
32. Do you receive external assistance from where?
33. Have you participated in any government safety net programs?
34. Mention the type of programs?
35. Have you participated in any non-governmental support programs?
36. Which programme?
37. How does the Emirate council intervene in the Jeedo?
38. What is your relationship with Emirate?
39. What are the major problems faced by the Jeedo?
40. How can we mobilize sources of support for the Jeedo practice?
41. How do you suggest the improvement of the Jeedo?
42. Have you been binifibrates of zakat, Sadaqah, waqif, beitalmal?
43. Do think the Jeedo has potential of helping the elderly cope with old age if improved?

- 44. if yes, what kind of improvement?
- 45. How would you describe your role as Jeedo?
- 46. Would you say consider being a Jeedo an easy task or burden on you?
- 47. How difficult is it to lead the elderly?
- 48. What are main areas of difficulty in the Jeedo?

Thank you.



Appendix C (Sample of Questions And Interview Guide ‘B’ For The Elderly Members of The Jeedo)

Interviewers Name _____
Actual Date of the interview _____
Beginning of interview _____
Ending _____
Full address and venue of the interview _____

Personal Characteristics

1. Sex:
2. Age:
3. Highest Educational Attainment.....
4. Ethnic Origin:
5. Current Marital Status:.....
6. Usual Place of Residence.....
 - a) No of Children you took care of.
 - b) Own Children.....
 - c) Other Children.....
 - d) No of grand Children.....
 - e) Current challenge(s) (medical, housing finance or any problem)
 - f) How long have you been under the Jeedo?
 - g) Has the Jeedo offer assistance to you in situations of need?
 - h) What do you think the Jeedo should be doing?
 - i) How have you benefited from the Jeedo?
 - j) Is the task of being a member stretching you in any way?
 - k) What are the activities you participated in the Jeedo?
 - l) What are the major problems of the Jeedo?
 - m) How can the Jeedo be improved for future elderly?
 - n) How do your children assist you in old age?
 - o) Is it adequate?
 - p) Is that your expectation?
 - q) How do you consider the past and present in relation to filial obligation?
 - r) What are the major challenges of old age in your own opinion?
 - s) If you are in position what will you do assist the elderly in Bauchi?
 - t) Are there more elderly people now than when you were young?
 - u) Are you still employed?
 - v) What do you do for a living?
 - w) What are the general problems faced by the elderly in Bauchi?
 - x) What is your source of income presently?
 - y) Is your income adequate?
 - z) Who is responsible for your maintenance and upkeep?
 - aa) Are you happy with the care you receive? bb) Do you experience loneliness?

Daily Living activities

1. Do you walk to the market, masjid, office, Emirate, to the judo's palace?
2. Who cooks your meals?
3. Which of these tasks proves difficult to you?
4. Taking a Bathing
 - cooking
 - Going to the toilet

- Waking up from bed
 - Trekking to market
 - Going to see your friends
 - sweeping and Cleaning
 - Cloth washing
 - Cleaning
5. Who assist you with the daily requirements that you find difficult to do?
 6. Do you feel you need help in your routine housework?
 7. If yes, what is the nature of help you need

Living Arrangements

1. Are you staying in your own house?
2. If yes are staying with Jeedo?
3. If no with whom do you stay?
4. How do you pay house rent?
5. With whom do you live?
6. How many persons live in the house?
7. Where is the house located in Bauchi?
8. Do you have regular feeding according your request?
9. Have you been assisted by government?
10. Have you participated in any programme from government or ngo?
11. Which programme?
12. What is assistance you receive?
13. Were you satisfied?

Jeedo Support

1. What is your position in the Jeedo?
2. Has the Jeedo been supportive in your age?
3. do you receive any form of assistance from any Jeedo member?
4. How frequent do you receive such support?
5. How steady is the support?
6. Is it help full socially and economically?
7. Explain in detail
8. Recently has there been any changes in the way your Jeedo support you?
9. Why do you think such changes occur?
10. Who assist you when you are sick?

Emotional/Psychological Support

1. Do your children visits you regularly?
2. Are your children emotionally supportive?
3. Do you visit your children and how often?
4. Do you visit your children who reside far away from you?
5. Are you often visited by relatives from far distance?
6. How do you account for the relationship with your extended Jeedo?
7. Outside Jeedo are you in any association?
8. What is the association(s)?

Reflections/ Suggestions

1. Is the support provided by Jeedo adequate to your needs?
2. what do you prefer to be the support provided by Jeedo?

3. What is your opinion about being old today?
4. Is there anything to like in being an elder?
5. What is it that you don't like about old age?
6. Are children reliable as sources of support in old age?
7. why do you think so?
8. Should the Jeedo be made the main source of support for the elderly?
9. Explain why?
10. How can the government help the Jeedo to care for the elderly?
11. In the absence of Jeedo would you like to be in elderly institutional arrangements?
12. What is your opinion about institutional care?
13. Are there aged persons not in the Jeedo?
14. What is your role in Jeedo?



Appendix D (Informed Consent for Participation)

Informed Consent for taking part in Research

Thank you for taking giving me your time for this meeting.

I am Abubakar Yakubu, here to discuss with you about the Jeedo practice as Emir or representative of royal Emir regarding information about the practice.

It will be a detailed interview that might last for an hour or less. To avoid losing your responses your voice shall be recorded, at the same time I will be taking down some written notes to ensure a complete capture of the information.

Kindly assist by raising your voice a little so your comments are well captured. Confidentiality of all your responses will be ensured. the whole information will be used for research only and will not identify you as a person. At any moment of the interview you can decide to withdraw.

Should you request further explanations about the any aspect please do ask. Do you wish to take participate in this interview?

Witness

Date _____

Interviewee

Appendix E (Informed Consent for Participation)

Informed Consent for taking part in Research

Thank you for taking giving me your time for this meeting.

I am Abubakar Yakubu, here to discuss with you about the Jeedo practice as the Jeedo regarding information about your network.

It will be a detailed interview that might last for an hour or less. To avoid losing your responses your voice shall be recorded, at the same time I will be taking down some written notes to ensure a complete capture of the information.

Kindly assist by raising your voice a little so your comments are well captured. Confidentiality of all your responses will be ensured. the whole information will be used for research only and will not identify you as a person. At any moment of the interview you can decide to withdraw.

Should you request further explanations about the any aspect please do ask. Do you wish to take participate in this interview?

Witness

Date _____

Interviewee

Informed Consent for taking part in Research

Thank you for taking giving me your time for this meeting.

I am Abubakar Yakubu, here to discuss with you about the Jeedo practice as community leaders in Bauchi regarding information about the practice.

It will be a detailed interview that might last for an hour or less. To avoid losing your responses your voice shall be recorded, at the same time I will be taking down some written notes to ensure a complete capture of the information.

Kindly assist by raising your voice a little so your comments are well captured. Confidentiality of all your responses will be ensured. the whole information will be used for research only and will not identify you as a person. At any moment of the interview you can decide to withdraw.

Should you request further explanations about the any aspect please do ask Do you wish to take participate in this interview?

Witness

Date

Interviewee

Appendix G (Informed Consent for Participation)

Informed Consent for taking part in Research

Thank you for taking giving me your time for this meeting.

I am Abubakar Yakubu, here to discuss with you about the Jeedo practice as a member of the Jeedo regarding information about your network.

It will be a detailed interview that might last for an hour or less. To avoid losing your responses your voice shall be recorded, at the same time I will be taking down some written notes to ensure a complete capture of the information.

Kindly assist by raising your voice a little so your comments are well captured. Confidentiality of all your responses will be ensured. the whole information will be used for research only and will not identify you as a person. At any moment of the interview you can decide to withdraw.

Should you request further explanations about the any aspect please do ask Do you wish to take participate in this interview?

----- Witness ----- Date ----- Interviewee

Appendix H (Field Work Images)
The current Jeedo leader



The current Jeedo chief is over 104 years. She has 12 children and over 200 grand children

General Congregation



Active Social Capital at the General Congregation of the Jeedo held at regular intervals

Jeedo Participation Items, Hat, Broom, Slippers and a Parker



Items needed for daily activities displayed at the Jeedo Chamber during a Prayer session after the morning sweeping of the Mosque

Annual Eid Congregation



The annual Eid congregation after the Eid Prayer which most members feel may be their last. Each member wears a white cloth, and there is intensive prayer and feeding for the poor in the community. Donations are mobilized and offered to the needy

Foccus Group Discussions (FGD's)



Many focus group discussions were held at various periods and venue during the fieldwork Interviews

Indepth Interviews



Various Interviews were conducted through the Participatory process

Funeral Prayer for a deceased



Prayer of a deceased member at the Emirs palace by the Chief Imam during the field work

The old Mosque at Bauchi Emirate



The old Mosque Bauchi built at the foundation stage of Islam in Bauchi Emirate. It is the first Central Mosque in the Emirate and also where the Jeedo practice was initiated and carried out by over 27 previous Jeedo Chiefs and Members

The Emirate Building



The current emir of Bauchi on his way to the Friday Prayer. After wards the Jeedo will pay homage and members will pray for the Emirate and wellbeing in society.

Jeedo High Council



The highest body in the Jeedo of 14 High Chiefs

A devotional Congregation



Devotional Congregation where Quranic recitation and supplication are done as directed by the Jeedo

The Emirate



the Emirate building which houses the emir and the historical artifacts of the Emirate. The Jeedo visits the Emirate regularly to perform their function. The Emirate is important for the practice.

The New Central Mosque



The new Central Mosque where the current Jeedo practice is conducted

Jeedo school

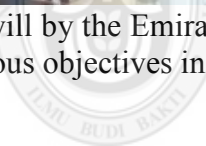


Both religious and later life education are provided by the Jeedo

Eid festival in Bauchi Emirate

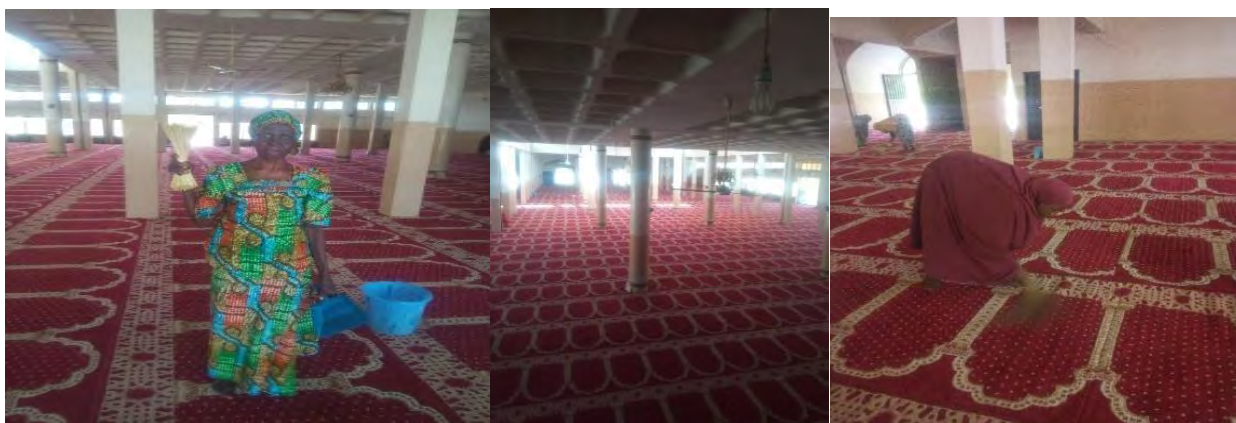


Display of goodwill by the Emirate community to the Emir, where Social Capital is mobilized for various objectives in the Emirate annually.



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Rituals for Sweeping the Central Mosque



Sweeping ritual include the maintenance of individual portions assigned and performance of prayers after the sweeping.

Early morning Fridays are special for the sweeping and cleaning of the first emirs' grave yard.

